TRUTH AND INNOCENCE VINDICATED:

IN A SURVEY OF A DISCOURSE

Concerning

Eccleſiaſtical Polity;

And the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrate over the Conſciences of Subjects in Matters of Religion.

Non Partum ſtudiis agimur; ſed ſumſimus arma,
Conſiliis inimica tuis, Diſcordia Vecors.

Οὐδὲν ἄτερ χαρᾶς Clemens Alexand.

London, Printed. 1669.

REVIEW OF THE PREFACE.

AMong the many Disadvantages, which those who plead in any sense for Liberty of Conscience are exposed unto, it is not the least, that in their arguings and Pleas they are enforced to admit a Supposition, That those whom they plead for, are indeed really *mistaken in their Apprehensions* about the matters concerning which they yet desire to be *indulged* in their practice. For unless they will give place to such a supposition, or if they will rigidly contend that what they plead in the be-

half of, is absolutely the Truth, and that obedience thereunto, is the direct Will and Command of God, there remains no proper field for the Debate about *Indulgence* to be managed in. For things acknowledged to be such; are not capable of an Indulgence properly so called; because the utmost Liberty that is necessary unto them, is their Right and Due in strict Justice and Law. Men therefore in such Discourses, speak not to the nature of the things themselves, but to the Apprehensions of them with whom they have to do. But yet against this Disadvantage every Party which plead for themselves, are relieved by that secret reserve that they have in the perswasion of the Truth and Goodness of what they profess, and desire to be indulged in the practice of. And this also, as occasion doth offer it self, and in the defence of themselves from the charge of their Adversaries, they openly contend and avow. Neither was it judged formerly, that there was any way to deprive them of this Reserve and Relief, but by a direct and particular Debate of the matters specially in difference, carried on unto their Conviction by evidence of Truth, managed from the Common Principles of it. But after Tryal made, this

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way to convince men of their errors and miſtakes, who ſtand in need of Indulgence with reſpect unto the outward Adminiſtration of the powers that they are under, is found, as it ſhould ſeem, tedious, unreaſonable, and ineffectual. A new way therefore to this purpoſe is fixed on, and it is earneſtly pleaded, That there needs no other Argument or *Medium* to prove men to be miſtaken in their Apprehenſions, and to miſcarry in their practice of Religious duties, than that at any time, or in any place they ſtand in need of *Indulgence*, To *Diſſent*, at all adventures, is a crime; and he whom others perſecute, tacitly at leaſt, confeſſeth himſelf guilty. For it is ſaid, That the Law of the Magiſtrate, being the ſole Rule of Obedience in Religious Worſhip, their *Non-complyance* with any Law by him eſtabliſhed, evidencing it ſelf in their deſire of Exemption, is a ſufficient conviction, yea a ſelf-acknowledgement not only of their Errors and Miſtakes in what they apprehend of their Duty in theſe things, and of their Miſcarriages in what they practiſe, but alſo that themſelves are perſons *Turbulent and Seditious* in withdrawing Obedience from the Laws which are juſtly impoſed on them. With what Reſtrictions and Limitations, or whe-

ther with any or no, these Assertions are maintained, we shall afterward enquire.

The Management of this Plea, (if I greatly mistake him not) is one of the principal Designs of the Author of that Discourse, a brief *survey* whereof is here proposed. The Principle which he proceeds herein upon, himself it seems knew to be Novel and Uncouth, and therefore thought it incumbent on him, that both the manner of its handling, and the other Principles that he judged meet to associate with it, or annex unto it, should be of the same kind and complexion. This Design hath at length produced us this Discourse; which of what use it may prove to the Church of God, what tendency it may have to retrive or promote Love and Peace among Christians, I know not. This I know, that it hath filled many persons of all sorts with manifold surprizals, and some with amazement. I have therefore on sundry Considerations, prevailed with my self much against my inclinations, for the sake of Truth and Peace, to spend a few hours in the examination of the principal parts and seeming pillars of the whole Fabrick. And this I was in my own mind the more easily induced unto, because there is no concernment either of

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the *Church* or *State* in the things here under debate, unleſs it be, that they ſhould be vindicated from having any concern in the things and opinions here pleaded and argued. For as to the preſent Church, if the Principles and reaſonings here maintained and managed, are agreeable unto her Sentiments, and allowed by her; yet there can be no offence given in their Examination, becauſe ſhe hath no where yet declared them ſo to be. And the truth is, if they are once owned and eſpouſed by her, to the ends for which they are aſſerted, as the Chriſtians of old triumphed in the thoughts of him, who firſt engaged in wayes of violence againſt them among the Nations in the world, ſo the *Non-Conformiſts* will have no ſmall relief to their minds in their ſufferings, when they underſtand theſe to be the avowed Principles and Grounds, on which they are to be perſecuted and deſtroyed. And for the power of *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* belonging to the Kings of this Nation, as it hath been claimed and exerciſed by them in all ages ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion among us, as it is declared in the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and preſcribed unto an Acknowledgement in the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, it

hath not the leaſt concern in the matter here in queſtion; Yea, it is allowed, acacknowledged and pleaded for, by thoſe whom this Author deſigns to oppoſe. Whatever then ſhall be ſpoken of this ſubject, it is but a bare Ventilation of *private Opinions*; and thoſe ſuch, as which if one Doctor's judgement may advance into the reputation of *probability*, ſo that ſome may venture to act upon them, yet are they not ſo far thereby ſecured, as to have Sanctuary given them, even from private mens examinations. Herein then I ſuppoſe, a liberty may be exerciſed without juſt offence to any; and our Diſquiſition after the Truth of the Principles and *Theorems* that will come under conſideration, may be harmleſly accompanied with a *Moderate Plea* in the behalf of their Innocency who are invidiouſly traduced, contemptuouſly reproached, unduely charged and calumniated, beyond, I am ſure, any ordinary examples or preſidents among men of any ſort, rank, degree, difference or profeſſion in the world. Yea, this ſeems to be called for, by the Light and Law of Nature, and to be uſeful, yea needful to publick tranquillity, beyond what in this preſent haſty *Review* ſhall be attempted.

For the *Author* of this Diſcourſe, he is

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to me, utterly unknown; neither do I intend either to make any Enquiry after him, or hastily to fix a credit unto any reports concerning either who he is, or of what consideration in the world. I am not concerned to know, what it seems he was concerned to conceal. Nor do I use to consider Reasons, Arguments, or Writings under a relation to any persons, which contributes nothing to their worth or signification. Besides, I know how deceitful reports are in such matters; and no way doubt, but that they will betray persons of an over-easie credulity into those mistakes about the Writer of this *Survey*, which he is resolved to avoid with reference to the Author of the Discourse it self. Only the *Character* that in the entrance of it, he gives of himself, and such other Intimations of his principles as he is pleased to communicate, I suppose he will be willing we should take notice of, and that we may do so without offence.

Thus in the entrance of his *Preface* he tells us, that he is a *person of such a tame and softly humour, and so cold a Complexion, that he thinks himself scarce capable of hot and passionate Impressions*, though I suppose he awow himself, *pag.* 4. to be *chafed into some heat and briskness*, with that evenness

and ſteddineſs of expreſſion, which we ſhall be farther accuſtomed unto. But in what here he avers of himſelf, he ſeems to have the advantage of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who upon leſs provocations than he hath undertaken the conſideration of (*for the Phariſees with whom he had to deal, were Gentlemen he tells us, unto thoſe with whom himſelf hath to do*) as he ſaith, *fell into an hot fit of Zeal, yea, into an height of Impatience, which made him act with a ſeeming fury, and tranſport of paſſion*, pag. 7. And if that be indeed his temper which he commends in himſelf, he ſeems to me to be obliged for it unto his Conſtitution and *Complexion*, as he ſpeaks, and not to his Age; ſeeing his juvenile expreſſions and confidence, will not allow us to think that he ſuffers under any deferveſcency of ſpirit by his years. The *Philoſopher* tells us, that *old men* in matters dubious and weighty, are not over-forward to be Poſitive, but ready to cry, ἴσως ἢ τάχα, perhaps, and it may be ſo, and this διὰ ἐμπειρίαν, becauſe they have *experience* of the uncertainty of things in this world. As indeed thoſe who know what entanglements all humane Affairs are attended withal, what appearing Cauſes and probable Reaſons are to be conſidered and examined about

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Religion

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Religion

Religion which in his judgement he doth moſt approve. His commendation of the *Church of England*, ſufficiently manifeſteth his intereſt to lye therein; and that in purſuit of his own principles he doth outwardly obſerve the Inſtitutions and preſcriptions of it. But the *Scheme* he hath given us of Religion, or Religious duties, wherein there is mention neither of Sin, nor a Redeemer, without which no man can entertain any one true notion of *Chriſtian Religion*, would rather beſpeak him a Philoſopher, than a Chriſtian. It is not unlikely, but that he will pretend he was treating of Religion, *as* Religion in general, without an Application of it to this or that in particular; but to ſpeak of Religion as it is among men in this world, or ever was ſince the fall of *Adam*, without a ſuppoſition of ſin, and the way of a relief from the Event of it mentioned, is to talk of *Chimæra's*, things that neither are, ever were, or will be. On the other hand the profit and advantage of his Deſign falls clearly on the *Papal* Intereſt. For whereas it is framed and contrived for the advantage, ſecurity, and unqueſtionableneſs of abſolute Complyers with the preſent Poſſeſſors of Power, it is evident, that in the States of *Europe*, the advantage lyes in-

incomparably on that hand. But theſe things are not our Concernment. The deſign which he manageth in his Diſcourſe, the ſubject matter of it, the manner how he treats thoſe with whom he hath to do, and deports himſelf therein, are by himſelf expoſed to the judgement of all, and are here to be taken into ſome Examination. Now becauſe we have in his *Preface* a perfect Repreſentation of the things laſt mentioned throughout the whole, I ſhall in the firſt place take a general view and Proſpect of it.

And here I muſt have regard to the Judgement of others. I confeſs for my own part I do not find my ſelf at all concerned in thoſe *Invectives, tart and upbraiding Expreſſions*, thoſe *ſharp and twinging Satyrs* againſt his Adverſaries, which he avoweth or rather boaſteth himſelf to have uſed. If this unparalleld heap of Revilings, Scoffings, deſpightful Reproaches, Sarcaſms, Scornful contemptuous Expreſſions, falſe Criminations, with frequent Intimations of Sanguinary affections towards them, do pleaſe his Fancy, and expreſs his Morality to his own Satisfaction, I ſhall never complain that he hath uſed his Liberty; and do preſume that he judgeth it not meet that it ſhould be reſtrained. It

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is far from my purpoſe to return him any Anſwer in the like manner to theſe things; to do it

——opus eſt Mangone perito
Qui Smithfieldenſi polleat Eloquio:

Yet ſome Inſtances of Prodigious exceſſes in this Kind, will in our Proceſs be reflected on. And it may be the Repetition of them may make an appearance unto ſome leſs conſiderate Readers, of a little Harſhneſs in ſome paſſages of this return. But as nothing of that nature in the leaſt is intended, nothing that might provoke the Author in his own ſpirit, were he capable of any hot impreſſions, nothing to diſadvantage him in his Reputation or eſteem, ſo what is ſpoken being duly weighed, will be found to have nothing ſharp or unpleaſant in it, but what is unavoidably infuſed into it from the diſcourſe it ſelf, in its approach unto it to make a repreſentation of it.

It is of more Concernment to conſider with what frame and temper of Spirit he manageth his whole Cauſe and Debate; and this is ſuch as that a man who knows nothing of him, but what he learns from this

this Diſcourſe, would ſuppoſe that he hath been ſome great Commander,

In Campis Gurguſtidoniis
Ubi Bombamachides Cluninſtaridyſarchides
Erat Imperator Summus ; Neptuni nepos,

Aſſociate unto him, who with his breath blew away and ſcattered all the Legions of his Enemies, as the wind doth leaves in Autumn.

Such Confidence in himſelf and his own ſtrength, ſuch contempt of all his Adverſaries, as perſons *Silly*, *Ignorant*, *Illiterate*, ſuch boaſtings of his Atchievments, with ſuch a face and appearance of ſcorning all that ſhall riſe up againſt him; ſuch expreſſions *animi gladiatorii* doth he march withall, as no man ſure will be willing to ſtand in his way, unleſs he think himſelf to have lived, at leaſt quietly, long enough. Only ſome things there are, which I cannot but admire in his undertaking and management of it; as firſt, that ſuch a Man of Arms and Art as he is, ſhould harneſs himſelf with ſo much preparation, and enter the Liſts with ſo much pomp and glory, to combat ſuch pittiful poor baffled *Ignoramus's* as he hath choſen to contend withall; eſpecially conſidering that he knew he had them bound hand and foot, and caſt under his ſtrokes

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at his pleaſure. Methinks it had more become him, to have ſought out ſome Giant in Reaſon and Learning, that might have given him at leaſt *par animo periculum*, as *Alexander* ſaid in his conflict with *Porus*, a danger big enough to exerciſe his Courage, though through miſtake it ſhould in the iſſue have proved but a *Wind-mill*. Again! I know not whence it is, nor by what Rules of *Errantry* it may be warranted, that being to conflict ſuch *pittiful trifles*, he ſhould before he come near to touch them, thunder out ſuch terrible words, and load them with ſo many reproaches and contemptuous Revilings, as if he deſigned to ſcare them out of the Liſts, that there might be no tryal of his ſtrength, nor exerciſe of his ſkill.

But leaving him to his own choice and liberty in theſe matters, I am yet perſwaded that if he knew how little his Adverſaries eſteem themſelves concerned in, or worſted by his Revilings, how ſmall advantage he hath brought unto the cauſe managed by him, with what ſeverity of Cenſures, that I ſay not Indignation, his proceedings herein are reflected on by perſons Sober and Learned, who have any reſpect to modeſty or ſobriety, or any reverence for the things of God, as debated

bated among men, he would abate ſomewhat of that ſelf-delight and ſatisfaction which he ſeems to take in his Achievement.

Neither is it in the matter of *Diſſent* alone from the eſtabliſhed Forms of Worſhip, that this Author, and ſome others, endeavour by their Revilings and Scoffings to expoſe *Non-Conformiſts* to ſcorn and violence; but a ſemblance at leaſt is made of the like Reflections on their whole Profeſſion of the Goſpel, and their Worſhip of God: Yea theſe are the ſpecial ſubjects of thoſe ſwelling words of contempt, thoſe ſarcaſtical invidious Repreſentations of what they oppoſe, which they ſeem to place their confidence of ſucceſs in; But what do they think to effect by this Courſe of proceedure? do they ſuppoſe that by crying out *canting*, *phraſes*, *ſilly*, *non-ſenſe*, *Metaphors*, they ſhall ſhame the *Non-Conformiſts* out of the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, or make them foregoe the courſe of their Miniſtry, or alienate one ſoul from the Truth taught and profeſt amongſt them? They know how their Predeceſſours in the faith thereof, have been formerly entertained in the World: St. *Paul* himſelf falling among the *Gentlemen Philoſophers* of thoſe dayes was termed by them Σπερμολόγος, a *Babbler*,

a *Babler*, or one that *Canted*; his Doctrine despised as *silly* and *foolish*, and his *Phrases* pretended to be Unintelligible. These things move not the *Non-Conformists*, unless it be to a Compassion for them whom they see to press their Wits and Parts to so wretched an employment. If they have any thing to charge on them with respect to *Gospel-truths*, as that they own, teach, preach, or publish any Doctrines, or Opinions that are not agreeable thereunto, and Doctrine of the Antient, and late (Reformed) Churches, let them come forth, if they are men of Learning, Reading, and Ingenuity, and in wayes used and approved from the beginning of Christianity for such ends and Purposes, endeavour their Confutation and Conviction; let them I say with the Skill and Confidence of Men, and according to all rules of Method and Art, state the matters in difference between themselves and their Adversaries, confirm their own judgements with such Reasons and Arguments as they think pleadable in their behalf, and oppose the Opinions they condemn with testimonies and reasons suited to their Eversion. The course at present steered and engaged in, to carpe at phrases, expressions, manners of the Declaration of mens conceptions,

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collected from, or falſly fathered upon particular perſons, thence intimated to be common to the whole party of *Non-Conformiſts* (the greateſt guilt of ſome whereof, it may be is only their too near approach to the expreſſions uſed in the Scripture to the ſame purpoſe, and the evidence of their being educed from thence) is unmanly, unbecoming perſons of any philoſophick generoſity, much more Chriſtians and Miniſters; nay ſome of the things or ſayings reflected on, and carped at by a late Author, are ſuch, as thoſe who have uſed or aſſerted them, dare modeſtly challenge him in their defence to make good his charge in a perſonal conference, provided it may be *Scholaſtical*, or *Logical*, not *Dramatick* or *Romantick*. And ſurely were it not for their Confidence in that *Tame and Patient Humour*, which this Author ſo tramples upon, *p.* 15. they could not but fear that ſome or other by theſe diſingenuous proceedings might be provoked to a Recrimination, and to give in a Charge againſt the curſed Oaths, Debaucheries, Profaneneſs, various Immoralities, and ſottiſh Ignorance, that are openly and notoriouſly known to have taken up their reſidence among ſome of thoſe perſons, whom the Railleries of this and ſome other Authors are

designed to countenance and secure.

Because we may not concern our selves again in things of this nature, let us take an Instance or two of the manner of the dealing of our Author with *Non-conformists*, and those as to their *Preaching* and *Praying*, which of all things they are principally maligned about; For their *Preaching* he thus sets it out, p. 75. *Whoever among them can Invent any new Language presently sets up for a Man of new Discoveries, and he that lights upon the prettyest non-sense, is thought by the Ignorant Rabble to unfold new Gospel Mysteries, and thus is the Nation shattered into infinite factions with senseless and phantastick phrases; and the most fatal miscarriage of them all lyes in abusing Scripture expressions, not only without, but in contradiction to their sense; so that had we but an Act of Parliament to abridge Preachers the use of fulsome and luscious Metaphors, it might perhaps be an effectual cure of all our present Distempers. Let not the Reader smile at the Oddness of the proposal; for were men obliged to speak sense as well as Truth, all the swelling mysteries of Phanaticism would then sink into flat and empty non-sense; and they would be ashamed of such jejune and ridiculous stuff as their admired and most profound notions would appear to be.* Certainly there are

are few who read theſe expreſſions that can retain themſelves from *ſmiling* at the pittiful phantaſtick ſouls that are here characterized; or from loathing their way of Preaching here repreſented. But yet if any ſhould by a ſurprizal indulge themſelves herein, and one ſhould ſeriouſly enquire what it is that ſtirred thoſe humours in them, it may be they could ſcarce return a rational account of their Commotions: For when they have done their utmoſt to countenance themſelves in their ſcorn and deriſion, they have nothing but the bare Aſſertions of this Author for the proof of what is here charged on thoſe whom they deride; And how if theſe things are moſt of them, if not all of them abſolutely falſe? how if he be not able to prove any of them by any conſiderable avowed inſtance? How if all the things intended whether they be ſo or no as here repreſented, depend meerly on the judgement and fancy of this Author, and it ſhould prove in the iſſue that they are no ſuch rules, meaſures, or ſtandards of mens rational expreſſions of their Conceptions, but that they may be juſtly appealed from? and how if ſundry things ſo odiouſly here expreſſed, be proved to have been ſober Truths declared in words of Wiſdom and Sobriety? What if

the things condemned as *fulſome Metaphors* prove to be Scriptural expreſſions of Goſpel Myſteries? What if the principal Doctrines of the Goſpel about the grace of God, the Mediation of Chriſt, of Faith, Juſtification, Goſpel-obedience, Communion with God, and Union with Chriſt, are eſteemed and ſtigmatized by ſome as *ſwelling Myſteries of Fanaticiſm*; and the whole work of our Redemption by the blood of Chriſt as expreſſed in the Scripture, be deemed *Metaphorical?* In brief, What if all this Diſcourſe concerning the Preachings of *Non-Conformiſts* be, as unto the ſenſe of the words here uſed, falſe, and the Crimes in them injuriouſly charged upon them? What if the *Metaphors* they are charged with, are no other but their expreſſion of Goſpel Myſteries *not in the words which mans wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, comparing ſpiritual things with Spiritual?* As theſe things may and will be made evident when particulars ſhall be inſtanced in. When I ſay theſe things are diſcovered and laid open, there will be a compoſure poſſibly of thoſe affections and diſdainful thoughts, which theſe ſwelling words may have moved in weak and unexperienced minds. It may be alſo it will appear that upon a due conſideration,

deration, there will be little ſubject matter remaining to be Enacted in that Law or *Act of Parliament* which he moves for; unleſs it be from that uncouth motion that men may be *obliged to ſpeak ſenſe as well as truth*; ſeeing hitherto it hath been ſuppoſed that every Propoſition that is either true or falſe, hath a proper and determinate ſenſe; and if ſenſe it have not, it can be neither. I ſhall only crave leave to ſay, that as to the Doctrine which they Preach, and the manner of their Preaching, or the way of expreſſing thoſe Doctrines or Truths which they believe and teach, the *Non Conformiſts* appeal from the raſh, falſe, and invidious charge of this Author, to the judgement of all learned, judicious and pious men in the world; and are ready to defend them againſt himſelf, and whoſoever he ſhall take to be his Patrons or his Aſſociates, before any equal, competent, and impartial Tribunal under Heaven. It is far from me to undertake the abſolute defence of any party of men, or of any man becauſe he is of any party whatever; much leſs ſhall I do ſo of all the individual perſons of any party, and leaſt of all, as to all their Expreſſions, private Opinions, and peculiar ways of declaring them, which too much abound among perſons of

all ſorts. I know there is no party, but have weak men belonging to it; nor any men amongſt them but have their weakneſſes, failings and miſtakes. And if there are none ſuch in the *Church of England*, I mean thoſe that univerſally comply with all the Obſervances at preſent uſed therein, I am ſure enough that there are ſo amongſt all other parties that diſſent from it. But ſuch as theſe are not principally intended in theſe aſperſions: nor would their Adverſaries much rejoyce to have them known to be, and eſteemed of all what they are. But it is others whom they aim to expoſe unto contempt; and in the behalf of them, not the miſtakes, miſapprehenſions, or undue expreſſions of any private perſons, theſe things are pleaded.

But let us ſee, if their *Prayers* meet with any better entertainment; an Account of his thoughts about them he gives us, p. 19. *It is the moſt ſolemn ſtrain of their devotion to vilifie themſelves with large Confeſſions of the hainouſeſt and moſt aggravated ſins: They will freely acknowledge their Offences againſt all the Commands, and that with the foulеſt and moſt enhancing circumſtances; they can rake together, and confeſs their injuſtice, uncleanneſs and extortion, and all the Publican and Harlot*

lot ſins in the world; In brief, in all their Confeſſions, they ſtick not to charge themſelves with ſuch large Catalogues of ſin, and to amaſs together ſuch an heap of Impieties, as would make up the compleateſt character of lewdneſs and villany; and if their Conſciences do really arraign them of all thoſe crimes whereof they ſo familiarly indite themſelves, there are no ſuch guilty and unpardonable Wretches as they: So that their Confeſſions are either true or falſe; if falſe, then they fool and trifle with the Almighty; if true, then I could eaſily tell them the fitteſt place to ſay their prayers in.

I confeſs this paſſage at its firſt peruſal ſurprized me with ſome amazement. It was unexpected to me, that he who deſigned all along to charge his Adverſaries with *Phariſaiſm*, and to render them like unto them, ſhould inſtance in their *Confeſſion of Sin* in their prayers, when it is even a *Characteriſtical* note of the *Phariſees*, that in their prayers they made no confeſſion of ſin at all. But it was far more ſtrange to me, that any man durſt undertake the reproaching of poor ſinners with the deepeſt acknowledgement of their ſins before the holy God, that they are capable to conceive or utter. Is this, thought I, the Spirit of the men with whom the *Non-*

Conformists do contend, and upon whose Instance alone they suffer? Are these their Apprehensions concerning God, sin, themselves and others? Is this the Spirit wherewith the Children of the Church are acted? Are these things suited to the principles, Doctrines, practices of the Church of *England*? Such reproaches and reflections indeed, might have been justly expected from those poor deluded souls, who dream themselves *perfect* and free from sin; but to meet with such a Treaty from them who say or sing, *O God the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us miserable sinners*, at least three times a Week, was some surprizal. However I am sure, the *Non-Conformists* need return no other answer to them who reproach them for vilifying themselves in their Confessions to God, but that of *David* to *Michal*, *It is before the Lord, and we will yet be more vile than thus, and will be base in our own sight.* Our Author makes no small stir with the pretended censures of some whom he opposes; namely, that they should *esteem themselves and their Party to be the Elect of God, all others to be reprobates, themselves and theirs to be godly, and all others ungodly*; wherein I am satisfied, that he unduely chargeth those whom he intends to reflect upon:

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However I am none of them; I do not judge any *Party* to be *All* the Elect of God, or all the Elect of God to be confined unto any Party; I judge no man living to be a *Reprobate*, though I doubt not but that there are living men in that condition; I confine not holiness or godliness to any Party; not to the *Church of England*, nor to any of those who dissent from it; but am perswaded that in all Societies of Christians that are under Heaven that hold the head, there are some really fearing God, working righteousness, and accepted with him. But yet neither my own judgement, nor the Reflections of this Author, can restrain me from professing that I fear that he who can thus trample upon men, scoff at and deride them for the deepest Confessions of their sins before God, which they are capable of making, is scarce either well acquainted with the holiness of God, the evil of sin, or the deceitfulness of his own heart, or did not in his so doing, take them into sufficient consideration. The *Church of England* it self requires its Children to *acknowledge their manifold sins and wickednesses, which from time to time they have grievously committed by thought, word and deed, against the Divine Majesty*; and what in general, others can con-

confeſs more, I know not. If men that are through the light of Gods Spirit and Grace, brought to an acquaintance with the deceitful workings of ſin in their own hearts, and the hearts of others, conſidering aright the *terror of the Lord*, and the manifold aggravations wherewith all their ſins are attended, do more particularly expreſs theſe things before, and to the Lord, when indeed nor they, nor any other can declare the thouſandth part of the vileneſs and unworthineſs of ſin and ſinners on the account thereof, ſhall they be now deſpiſed for it, and judged to be men meet to be hanged? If this Author had but ſeriouſly peruſed the Confeſſions of *Auſtin*, and conſidered how he traces his ſin from his nature in the womb, through the Cradle, into the whole courſe of his life, with his marvellous and truly ingenious acknowledgements and aggravations of it, perhaps the Reverence of ſo great a name might have cauſed him to ſuſpend this raſh, and I fear, impious Diſcourſe.

For the particular inſtances wherewith he would countenance his Sentiments and Cenſures in this Matter, there is no difficulty in their removal. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath taught us, to call the moſt ſe-

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cret workings of ſin in the heart, though reſiſted, though controlled, and never ſuffered to bring forth, by the names of thoſe ſins which they lye in a tendency unto; and men in their Confeſſions reſpect more the pravity of their natures, and the inward working and actings of ſin, than the outward perpetrations of it, wherein perhaps they may have little concernment in the world; as *Job* who pleaded his uprightneſs, integrity, and righteouſneſs againſt the charge of all his friends, yet when he came to deal with God, he could take that proſpect of his Nature and heart, as to *vilifie himſelf* before him, *yea to abhor himſelf in duſt and aſhes.*

Again, Miniſters who are the Mouths of the Congregation to God, may, and ought to acknowledge, not only the ſins whereof themſelves are perſonally guilty, but thoſe alſo which they judge may be upon any of the Congregation. This aſſuming of the perſons of them to whom they ſpeak, or in whoſe name they ſpeak, is uſual even to the Sacred Writers themſelves. So ſpeaks the Apoſtle *Peter*, 1 Epiſt. 4. 3. *For the time paſt of our lives may ſuffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in laſciviouſneſs, luſts, exceſs of wine, revellings, banquetings and*

and abominable idolatries. He puts himself amongst them, although the time past of his life in particular was remote enough from being spent in the manner there described: And so it may be with Ministers when they confess the sins of the whole Congregation. And the *Dilemma* of this Author about the truth or falshood of these Confessions, will fall as heavy on St. *Paul* as on any *Non-Conformist* in the world. For besides the acknowledgement that he makes of the former sins of his life when he was *injurious*, a *Blasphemer*, and *Persecutor*, (which sins I pray God deliver others from) and the secret working of in-dwelling sin, which he cryes out in his present condition to be freed from; he also when an Apostle professeth himself the *chiefest of sinners*; Now this was either true, or it was not; if it was not true, God was mocked; if it were, our Author could have directed him to the fittest place to have made his acknowledgements in. What thinks he of the Confessions of *Ezra*, of *Daniel* and others in the name of the whole people of God? Of *David* concerning himself, whose self-abasements before the Lord, acknowledgements of the guilt of sin in all its Aggravations and Effects, far exceed any thing that *Non-Conformists* are able to express.

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As to his Inſtances of the Confeſſion of *injuſtice*, *uncleanneſs*, and *extortion*, it may be as to the firſt and laſt, he would be put to it to make it good by expreſs particulars; and I wiſh it be not found that ſome have need to confeſs them, who cry at preſent, they are not as theſe Publicans. *Uncleanneſs* ſeems to bear the worſt ſound, and to lead the mind to the worſt apprehenſions of all the reſt; but it is God with whom men have to do in their Confeſſions; and before him, *What is man that he ſhould be clean, and he that is born of a woman, that he ſhould be righteous? Behold he putteth no truſt in his Saints, and the Heavens are not clean in his ſight, and how much more abominable and filthy is man, who drinketh in iniquity like water*, Job. 15. and the whole Church of God in their Confeſſion cry out, *We are all as an unclean thing, and all our Righteouſneſſes are as filthy raggs*, Iſa. 54. There is a Pollution of Fleſh and Spirit, which we are ſtill to be cleanſing our ſelves from whilſt we are in this world.

But to what purpoſe is it to contend about theſe things? I look upon this Diſcourſe of our Author as a ſignal inſtance of the power of prejudice and paſſions over the minds of men. For ſetting aſide the conſideration of a preſent influence from

from them, I cannot believe that any one that profeſſeth the Religion taught by Jeſus Chriſt, and contained in the Scripture, can be ſo ignorant of the terror of the Lord, ſo unaccuſtomed to thoughts of his infinite Purity, Severity and Holineſs, ſuch a ſtranger to the Accuracy, Spirituality, and Univerſality of the Law, ſo unacquainted with the ſin of Nature, and the hidden deceitful workings of it in the hearts, minds and affections of men, ſo ſenſeleſs of the great guilt of the leaſt ſin, and the manifold inexpreſſible aggravations wherewith it is attended, ſo unexerciſed to that ſelf-abaſement and abhorrency which becomes poor ſinners in their approaches to the holy God, when they conſider what they are in themſelves, ſo diſreſpective of the price of Redemption that was paid for our ſins, and the myſterious way of cleanſing our ſouls from them by the blood of the Son of God, as to revile, deſpiſe and ſcoff at men for the deepeſt humblings of their ſouls before God, in the moſt ſearching and expreſſive acknowledgements of their ſins, that they do or can make at any time.

The like Account may be given of all the charges that this Author mannageth againſt the men of his indignation; but I ſhall return

return at preſent to the *Preface* under conſideration.

In the entrance of his Diſcourſe, being as it ſeems conſcious to himſelf of a ſtrange and wild intemperance of ſpeech in reviling his Adverſaries, which he had either uſed, or intended ſo to do, he pleads ſundry things in his excuſe or for his juſtification. Hereof the firſt is, his zeal for the Reformation of the Church of *England*, and the ſettlement thereof with its Forms and Inſtitutions; theſe he ſaith are *countenanced by the beſt and pureſt times of Chriſtianity, and eſtabliſhed by the Fundamental Laws of this Land*; (which yet as to the things in conteſt between him and *Non Conformiſts* I greatly doubt of, as not believing any fundamental Law of this Land to be of ſo late a date,) to ſee this *oppoſed by a Wild and Fanatick rabble, rifled by Folly and Ignorance, on ſlender and frivolous pretences ſo often and ſo ſhamefully baffled, yet again revived by the pride and ignorance of a few peeviſh, ignorant and malepert Preachers, brainſick people,* (all which gentle and peaceable expreſſions are crowded together in the compaſs of a few lines) is that which hath *chafed him into this heat and briſkneſs*; If this be not to deal with gain-ſayers in a ſpirit of meek-

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neſs, if herein there be not an obſervation of the rules of ſpeaking evil of no man, deſpiſing no man, of not ſaying *Racha* to our Brother, or calling of him *Fool*; if here be not a diſcovery how remote he is from ſelf-conceit, elation of mind, and the like Immoralities, we muſt make enquiry after ſuch things elſewhere; for in this whole enſuing Treatiſe we ſhall ſcarce meet with any thing more tending to our ſatisfaction. For the Plea it ſelf made uſe of, thoſe whom he ſo tramples on, do highly honor the Reformation of the *Church of England*, and bleſs God for it continually, as that which hath had a ſignal tendency unto his glory, and uſefulneſs to the ſouls of men. That as to the outward Rites of Worſhip and Diſcipline conteſted about, it was in all things conformed unto the great Rule of them, our Author doth not pretend; nor can he procure it in thoſe things, whatever he ſayes, any countenance from the beſt and pureſt times of Chriſtianity: That it was every way perfect in its firſt Edition, I ſuppoſe, will not be affirmed; nor conſidering the poſture of affairs at the time of its framing both in other Nations and in our own, was it like it ſhould ſo be. We may rather admire that ſo much was then done according to the Will of God,

God, than that there was no more. Whatever is wanting in it, the fault is not to be cast on the *first Reformers*, who went as far as well in those dayes could be expected from them. Whether others who have succeeded in their place and room, have since discharged their duty in perfecting what was so happily begun, is *sub judice*, and there will abide, after this Author and I have done writing. That as to the things mentioned, it never had an absolute quiet possession or admittance in this Nation, that a constant and no inconsiderable Suffrage hath from first to last been given in against it, cannot be denyed; and for any *savage worrying* or *rifling of it* at present, no man is so barbarous as to give the least countenance to any such thing. That which is intended in these exclamations, is only a desire that those who cannot comply with it as now established in the matters of Discipline and Worship before mentioned, may not meerly for that cause be *worried* and destroyed, as many have already been.

Again, the chief glory of the *English Reformation* consisted in the purity of its Doctrine, then first restored to the Nation. This, as it is expressed in the Articles of Religion, and in the publickly authorized

thorized Writings of the Biſhops and chief Divines of the Church of *England*, is, as was ſaid, the glory of the Engliſh Reformation. And it is ſomewhat ſtrange to me, that whilſt one writes againſt *Original Sin*, another preaches up *Juſtification by Works*, and ſcoffs at the *Imputation of the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt* to them that believe; yea whilſt ſome can openly diſpute againſt the *Doctrine of the Trinity*, the *Deity of Chriſt*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*; whilſt Inſtances may be collected of ſome mens impeaching all the *Articles* almoſt throughout, there ſhould be no Reflection in the leaſt on theſe things; only thoſe who diſſent from ſome outward Methods of Worſhip muſt be made the Object of all this wrath and indignation.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

Some mens guilt in this Nature, might rather mind them of pulling out the *beam out of their own eyes*, than to act with ſuch fury to pull out the Eyes of others, for the Motes which they think they eſpy in them. But hence is occaſion given to pour out ſuch a ſtorm of fury, conveyed by words of as great reproach and Scorn, as the invention of any man I think could ſuggeſt, as is not

not lightly to be met withal: Might our Author be prevailed with to mind the old rule, *Mitte malè loqui, dic rem ipſam*, theſe things might certainly be debated with leſs ſcandal, leſs mutual offences and provocations.

Another account of the Reaſons of his intemperance in theſe reproaches, ſupplying him with an opportunity to encreaſe them in number and weight, he gives us *pag.* 6. & 7. of his Preface, which becauſe it may well be eſteemed a ſummary repreſentation of his way and manner of arguing in his whole Diſcourſe, I ſhall tranſcribe.

I know, ſayes he, *but one ſingle Inſtance in which zeal or a high indignation is juſt and warrantable: and that is when it vents it ſelf againſt the Arrogance of haughty peeviſh and ſullen Religioniſts, that under higher pretences of godlineſs ſupplant all principles of Civility and good Nature; that ſtrip Religion of its outſide to make it a covering for ſpight and malice; that adorn their peeviſhneſs with a mark of piety, and ſhrowd their ill nature under the demure pretences of godly zeal, and ſtroke and applaud themſelves as the only Darlings and Favourites of Heaven; and with a ſcornfull pride diſdained all the reſidue of mankind as a rout of worthleſs and unregenerate Reprobates. Thus the only hot fit of*

zeal we find our Saviour in, was kindled by an indignation against the pride and insolence of the Jews, when he whipped the Buyers and Sellers out of the outward Court of the Temple; for though they bore a blind and superstitious reverence towards that part of it that was peculiar to their own worship, yet as for the outward Court, the place where the Gentiles and Proselytes worshipped, that was so unclean and unhallowed, that they thought it could not be profaned by being turned into an Exchange of Usury: Now this insolent contempt of the Gentiles, and impudent conceit of their own holiness, provoked the mild Spirit of our blessed Saviour to such an height of impatience and indignation, as made him with a seeming fury and transport of Passion whip the Tradesmen thence, and overthrew their Tables.

What Truth, Candor, or Conscience hath been attended unto in the insolent Reproaches here heaped up against his Adversaries, is left to the Judgement of God and all impartial men; yea let judgement be made, and sentence be past according to the wayes, course of life, conversation, usefulness amongst men, readiness to serve the common concerns of mankind, in exercising lovingkindness in the earth, of those who are thus injuriously

ouſly traduced, compared with any in the approbation and commendation of whom they are covered with theſe reproaches, and there lives not that perſon who may not be admitted to pronounce concerning the equity and righteouſneſs or iniquity of theſe intemperances. However it is nothing with them with whom he hath to do to be judged by mans day; they ſtand at the judgement ſeat of Chriſt, and have not ſo learned him as to relieve themſelves by falſe or fierce Recriminations. The meaſure of the covering provided for all theſe exceſſes of unbridled paſſion, is that alone which is now to be taken. The Caſe expreſſed it ſeems is the only ſingle inſtance in *which zeal is juſt and warrantable*. How our Author came to be aſſured thereof I know not; ſure I am that it doth neither comprize in it, nor hath any aſpect on, the ground, occaſion, or nature of the zeal of *Phinehas*, or of *Nehemiah*, or of *David*, or of *Joſhuah*, and leaſt of all of our Saviour as we ſhall ſee. He muſt needs be thought to be overintent upon his preſent occaſion, when he forgot not one, or two, but indeed all inſtances of juſt and warrantable zeal that are given us in the only ſacred repoſitory of them.

For what concerns the example of our bleſſed Saviour particularly inſiſted on, I wiſh he had offended one way only in the report he makes of it. For let any ſober man judge in the firſt place, whether thoſe expreſſions he uſeth of the *hot fit of zeal*, that He was in, of the *Height of impatience* that he was provoked unto, the *ſeeming Fury and Tranſport of Paſſion* that he acted withall, do become that Reverence and Adoration of the Son of God which ought to poſſeſs the hearts, and guide the Tongues and Writings of men that profeſs his Name. But whatever other mens apprehenſions may be, as it is not improbable but that ſome will exerciſe ſeverity in their Reflections on theſe Expreſſions; for my part, I ſhall entertain no other thoughts but that our Author being engaged in the Compoſition of an Invective Declamation, and aiming at a *Gradeur* of Words, yea to fill it up with *Tragical* expreſſions, could not reſtrain his pen from ſome extravagant exceſs, when the Lord Chriſt Himſelf came in his way to be ſpoken of.

However it will be ſaid the Inſtance is pertinently alledged, and the occaſion of the Exerciſe of the zeal of our Bleſſed Saviour is duly repreſented. It may be ſome will think ſo, but the truth is, there

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are ſcarce more lines than miſtakes in the whole diſcourſe to this purpoſe. What *Court* it was of the Temple wherein the Action remembred was performed, is not here particularly determined; only 'tis ſaid to be the *Outward Court wherein the Gentiles and Proſelytes worſhipped in oppoſition to that which was peculiar to the worſhip of the Jews.* Now of old from the firſt Erection of the Temple there were two Courts belonging unto it and no more; the inward Court, wherein were the *Brazen Altar* with all thoſe Utenſils of worſhip which the Prieſts made uſe of in their ſacred Offices; and the outward Court whither the people aſſembled, as for other Devotions, ſo to behold the Prieſts exerciſing their Function, and to be in a readineſs to bring in their own eſpecial ſacrifices, upon which account they were admitted to the Altar it ſelf. Into this outward Court which was a dedicate part of the Temple, all *Gentiles* who were *Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs*, that is who being circumciſed had taken upon them the Obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*, and thereby joyned themſelves to the people of God, were admitted, as all the Jewiſh Writers agree. And theſe were all the Courts that were at firſt Sanctified, and were in uſe when the

words were ſpoken by the Prophet, which are applyed to the Action of our Saviour; namely, *My houſe ſhall be called a Houſe of Prayer, but ye have made it a Den of Thieves*; Afterwards in the dayes of the *Herodians* another Court was added by the immuring of the remainder of the Hill, whereunto a promiſcuous entrance was granted unto all people. It was therefore the antient Outward Court whereinto the *Jews* thought that *Paul* had brought *Trophimus the Epheſian*, whom they knew to be Uncircumciſed. I confeſs ſome Expoſitors think that it was this latter *Area* from whence the Lord Chriſt caſt out the Buyers and Sellers; but their Conjecture ſeems to be altogether groundleſs; for neither was that Court ever abſolutely called the *Temple*, nor was it eſteemed *Sacred*, but common or Prophane; nor was it in being when the Prophet uſed the words mentioned concerning the Temple. It was therefore the other antient outward Court common to the Jews and *Proſelytes* of the *Gentiles* that is intended; for as there the Salt and Wood were ſtored, that were daily uſed in their Sacrifices, ſo the Covetous Prieſts knowing that many who came up to offer, were wont to buy the beaſts they ſacrificed at *Hieruſalem* to prevent the charge and labour of bringing them

them from farr ; to further as they pretended their Accommodation, they appropriated a *Market* to themſelves in this Court, and added a Trade *in money*, relating it may be thereunto, and other things for their Advantage. Hence the Lord Chriſt twice drove them ; once at the Beginning, and once at the End of his Miniſtry in the fleſh ; *not with a ſeeming Tranſport of Fury*, but with that evidence of the preſence of God with Him, and Majeſty of God upon Him, that it is uſually reckoned amongſt one of the Miracles that he wrought, conſidering the ſtate of all things at that time amongſt the Jews. And the reaſon why He did this, and the occaſion of the exerciſe of his Zeal, is ſo expreſs in the Scripture, as I cannot but admire at the Invention of our Author, who could find out another Reaſon and Occaſion of it. For it is ſaid directly, that he did it becauſe of their wicked profanation of the houſe of God, contrary to his expreſs Inſtitution and Command ; Of a regard to the Jews contempt of the Gentiles there is not one word, not the leaſt Intimation ; nor was there in this matter the leaſt occaſion of any ſuch thing.

Theſe things are not pleaded in the leaſt,

to

to give countenance to Any, in their proud ſupercillious Cenſures and Contempt of others, wherein if any perſon living have out-done our Author, or ſhall endeavour ſo to do, he will not fail I think to carry away the prize in this unworthy Conteſt. Nor is it to Apologize for them whom he charges with extravagances and exceſſes in this kind. I have no more to ſay in their behalf, but that as far as I know, they are falſly accuſed and calumniated, though I will not be accountable for the expreſſions of every weak and impertinent perſon. Where men indeed ſin openly in all manner of Tranſgreſſions againſt the Law and Goſpel, where a ſpirit of enmity to holineſs and obedience unto God diſcovers and acts it ſelf conſtantly on all occaſions; in a word, where men wear Sin's Livery, ſome are not afraid to think them Sin's Servants. But as to that Elation of mind in ſelf-conceit wherewith they are charged, their contempt of other men upon the account of Party which he imputes unto them, I muſt expect other proofs than the bare aſſertion of this Author before, I ſhall joyn with him in the management of his Accuſations. And no other Anſwer ſhall I return to the enſuing Leaves, fraught with bitter Reproaches, Invectives, Sarcaſms, far enough

enough distant from Truth and all Sobriety. Nor shall I though in their just and necessary vindication, make mention of any of those things which might represent them persons of another Complexion. If this Author will give those whom he probably most aims to load with these Aspersions, leave to confess themselves poor and miserable sinners in the sight of God, willing to bear his indignation against whom they have sinned, and to undergo quietly the severest Rebukes and Revilings of men, in that they know not but that they have a *Providential permissive Commission* from God so to deal with them, and add thereunto, that they yet hope to be saved by Jesus Christ, and in that hope endeavour to give up themselves in Obedience to all his Commands, it contains that Description of them which they shall alwayes, and in all conditions endeavour to answer. But I have only given these Remarks upon the preceding Discourse, to discover upon what feeble grounds our Author builds for his own justification in his present Engagement.

Pag. 13. of his *Preface*, He declares his *original Design* in writing this Discourse, which was to *represent to the World the lamentable folly and sillinesse of those mens Religion*

Religion with whom he had to do, which he farther expreſſes and purſues with ſuch a Lurry of virulent reproaches as I think is not to be parallel'd in any leaves, but ſome others of the ſame hand; and in the cloſe thereof he ſuppoſeth he hath evinced that in compariſon of them, *the moſt Inſolent of the Phariſees were Gentlemen, and the moſt ſavage of the Americans Philoſophers*. I muſt confeſs my ſelf an utter ſtranger unto that generous diſpoſition and Philoſophick nobleneſs of mind, which vent themſelves in ſuch revengefull ſcornfull wrath, expreſſed in ſuch rude and barbarous railings againſt any ſort of men whatever, as that here manifeſted in, and thoſe here uſed by this Author. If this be a juſt delineation and character of the Spirit of a *Gentleman*, a due portraicture of the Mind and Affections of a *Philoſopher*, I know not who will be ambitious to be eſteemed either the one or the other. But what meaſures men now make of *Gentility* I know not; truly noble Generoſity of Spirit was heretofore eſteemed to conſiſt in nothing more, than remoteneſs from ſuch *pedantick ſeverities* againſt, and contemptuous reproaches of perſons under all manner of diſadvantages, yea impoſſibilities to manage their

own juſt Vindication, as are here exerciſed and expreſſed in this Diſcourſe. And the principal pretended Attainment of the old *Philoſophy*, was a ſedateneſs of mind, and a freedome from turbulent Paſſions and Affections under the greateſt Provocations; which if they are here manifeſted by our Author, they will give the greater countenance unto the Character which he gives of others; the judgement and determination whereof is left unto all impatial Readers.

But in this *main deſign* he profeſſeth himſelf prevented by the *late Learned and Ingenious Diſcourſe, The Friendly Debate*; which to manifeſt, it may be, that his *Rhetorical faculty* is not confined to Invectives, he ſpendeth ſome pages in the ſplendid *Encomiums* of. There is no doubt, I ſuppoſe but that the Author of that Diſcourſe, will on the next occaſion requite his *Panegyrick*, and return him his Commendations for his own Achievements with Advantage; they are like enough to agree like thoſe of the Poet,

Diſcedo Alcæus puncto Illius, Ille meo quis?
Quis niſi Callimachus?

For the preſent his Account of the excellencies

cellencies and ſucceſſes of that Diſcourſe minds me of the Dialogue between *Pyrgopolynices* and *Artotrogus*:

Pyrg. *Ecquid meminiſti?* Art. *Memini;*
Centum in Cilicia,
Et quinquaginta Centum Sycolatronidæ,
Triginta Sardi, Sexaginta Macedones,
Sunt homines Tu quos occidiſti uno die.
Pyrg. *Quanta iſthæc Hominum ſumma eſt?*
Art. *Septem millia.*
Pyrg. *Tantum eſſe oportet; rectè rationem tenes.*
Art. *At nullos habeo ſcriptos, ſic memini tamen.*

Although the particular inſtances he gives of the man's ſucceſſes, are prodigiouſly ridiculous, yet the caſting up of the ſumm Total to the compleating of his Victory, ſinks them all out of Conſideration: And ſuch is the Account we have here of the *Friendly Debate*. This and that it hath effected, which though unduly aſſerted as to the particular Inſtances, yet altogether comes ſhort of that abſolute Victory and Triumph which are aſcribed unto it. But I ſuppoſe that upon due conſideration, mens glorying in thoſe Diſcourſes, will be but as the Crackling of thorns in the fire, noiſe and ſmoak without any real and ſolid uſe or ſatisfaction. The great deſign of the

Author,

Author, as is apparent unto all, was to render the Sentiments and Expreſſions of his Adverſaries *ridiculous*, and thereby to expoſe their perſons to contempt and ſcorn,

Egregiam verò laudem & ſpolia ampla!

And to this end his way of writing by *Dialogues* is exceedingly ſuited and accommodated: For although Ingenious and Learned men, ſuch as *Plato* and *Cicero*, have handled matters of the greateſt Importance in that way of writing, candidly propoſing the Opinions and Arguments of Adverſe parties in the perſons of the *Dialogiſts*, and ſometimes uſed that method to make their deſign of Inſtruction more eaſie and perſpicuous, yet it cannot be denyed that advantages may be taken from this way of Writing to repreſent both Perſons, Opinions, and Practices, invidiouſly and contemptuouſly, above any other way; and therefore it hath been principally uſed by men who have had that Deſign. And I know nothing in the ſkilfull Contrivance of *Dialogues*, which is boaſted of here with reſpect unto the *Friendly Debate*, as alſo by the Author of it in his Preface to one of his worthy Volumes, that ſhould free the way of writing it ſelf, from being ſuppoſed to

to be peculiarly accommodated to the ends mentioned. Nor will these Authors charge them with want of skill and art in composing of their *Dialogues*, who have designed nothing in them but to render *Things* uncouth, and *Persons* ridiculous, with whom themselves were in Worth and Honesty no way to be compared.

An Instance hereof we have in the case of *Socrates*. Sundry in the City being weary of him for his Uprightness, Integrity, and continual pressing of them to courses of the like nature; some also being in an especial manner incensed at him, and provoked by him; amongst them they contrived his ruine. That they might effect this design, they procured *Aristophanes* to write a *Dialogue*, his Comœdy which he entituled νεφέλαι, *the Clouds*; wherein *Socrates* is introduced and personated, talking at as contemptible and ridiculous a rate, as any one can represent the *Non-Conformists* to do; and yet withal to commend himself as the only man considerable amongst them. Without some such preparation of the peoples minds, his enemies thought it impossible to obtain his Persecution and Destruction; and they failed not in their Projection. *Aristophanes* being poor, witty, and as is supposed hired to this

this work, layes out the utmoſt of his endeavours ſo to frame and order his *Dialogues*, with ſuch Elegancy of words, and Compoſure of his verſes, with ſuch a ſemblance of relating the words and expreſſing the manner of *Socrates*, as might leave an impreſſion on the minds of the people. And the ſucceſs of it was no way inferiour to that of the *Friendly Debate*; for though at firſt the people were ſomewhat ſurprized with ſeeing ſuch a perſon ſo traduced, yet they were after a while ſo pleaſed and tickled with the ridiculous Repreſentation of him and his Philoſophy, wherein there was much of Appearance and nothing of Truth, that they could make no end of applauding the Author of the *Dialogues*. And though this were the known deſign of that *Poet*, yet that his *Dialogues* were *abſurd* and *inartificial*, I ſuppoſe will not be affirmed; ſeeing few were ever more skilfully contrived. Having got this advantage of expoſing him to publick contempt, his provoked malicious Adverſaries began openly to mannage their Accuſation againſt him. The principal Crime laid to his charge was *Non-conformity*, or that he did not comply with the Religion which the Supream Magiſtrate had enacted; or as they then phraſed it, *he eſteemed not them*

to be Gods whom the City ſo eſteemed. By theſe means, and through theſe advantages, they ceaſed not until they had deſtroyed the beſt and wiſeſt perſon, that ever that City bred in its Heathen condition, and whereof they quickly repented themſelves. The Reader may ſee the whole ſtory exactly related in *Ælian. lib.* 2. *Var. Hiſtor. cap.* 13. Much of it alſo may be collected from the Apologies of *Xenophon* and *Plato* in behalf of *Socrates*, as alſo *Plutarch's* Diſcourſe concerning his *Genius*. To this purpoſe have *Dialogues* very artificially written been uſed and are abſolutely the moſt accommodate of all ſorts of writing unto ſuch a deſign. Hence *Lucian* who aimed particularly to render the things which he diſliked *Ridiculous* and *Contemptible*, uſed no other kind of writing; and I think his *Dialogues* will be allowed to be *Artificial*, though ſundry of them have no other deſign but to caſt contempt on perſons and Opinions better than himſelf and his own. And this way of dealing with Adverſaries in points of Faith, Opinion and Judgement, hath hitherto been eſteemed fitter for the Stage, than a ſerious diſquiſition after Truth, or Confutation of Error: Did thoſe who adventure their own Achievements in this way of Proceſs, but conſider how eaſie a thing it is

is for any one, depoſing that reſpect to Truth, Modeſty, Sobriety, and Chriſtianity which ought to accompany us in all that we do, to expoſe the perſons and opinions of men by falſe, partial, undue Repreſentations to ſcorn and contempt, they would perhaps ceaſe to glory in their fancied ſucceſs. It is a facile thing to take the wiſeſt man living, and after he is lime-twigg'd with Ink and Paper, and gagged with a Quill, ſo that he can neither move nor ſpeak, to clap a Fools Coat on his back, and turn him out to be laughed at in the Streets. The *Stoicks* were not the moſt contemptible ſort of *Philoſophers* of old, nor will not be thought ſo by thoſe, who profeſs their Religion to conſiſt in *Morality* only. And yet the *Roman* Orator in his pleading for *Muræna*, finding it his preſent Intereſt to caſt ſome diſreputation upon *Cato* his Adverſary in that cauſe, who was addicted to that Sect, ſo repreſented their *Dogmes*, that he put the whole Aſſembly into a fit of laughter; whereunto *Cato* only replyed, That he made others laugh, but was himſelf Ridiculous; and it may be ſome will find it to fall out not much otherwiſe with themſelves by that time the whole account of their undertaking is well caſt up.

Beſides, do theſe men not know, that if others would employ themſelves in a work of the like kind by way of Retortion and Recrimination, that they would find real matter amongſt ſome whom they would have eſteemed ſacred, for an ordinary Ingenuity to exerciſe it ſelf upon unto their diſadvantage? But what would be the iſſue of ſuch proceedings? Who would be gainers by it? Every thing that is profeſſed among them that own Religion, all wayes and means of their Profeſſion, being by their mutual Reflections of this kind, render'd ridiculous, what remains but that men fly to the Sanctuary of *Atheiſm* to preſerve themſelves from being ſcoffed at and deſpiſed as fools. On this account alone I would adviſe the Author of our late *Debates* to ſurceaſe proceeding in the ſame kind, leſt a provocation unto a Retaliation ſhould befall any of thoſe who are ſo fouly aſperſed.

But, as I ſaid, what will be the end of theſe things, namely of mutual virulent reflections upon one another? Shall this *ſword devour for ever? And will it not be bitterneſs in the latter end?* For, as he ſaid of old of perſons contending with revilings;

Eſt

Ἔστι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροσιν ἐνείδεα μυθήσασθαι
Πολλὰ μάλ'; οὐδ' ἂν νηῦς ἑκατόζυγος ἄχθος ἄροιτο:
Στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν· πολέας δ' ἔνι μῦθοι
Παντοῖσι, ἐτέων δὲ πολυνομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα;
Ὁποῖόν κ' εἰπάσθαι ἔπος, τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσαις.

Great ſtore there are of ſuch words and expreſſions on every hand, and every provoked perſon, if he will not bind his paſſion to a Rule of Sobriety and Temperance, may at his pleaſure take out and uſe what he ſuppoſeth for his turn. And let not men pleaſe themſelves with imagining that it is not as eaſie, though perhaps not ſo ſafe, for others to uſe towards themſelves, haughty and contemptuous expreſſions, as it is for them to uſe them towards others. But ſhall this wrath never be allayed? Is this the way to reſtore peace, quietneſs and ſatisfaction to the minds of men? Is it meet to uſe her Language in this Nation concerning the preſent Differences about Religion,

Nullus Amor populis, nec fœdera ſunto;
Imprecor Arma Armis, pugnent ipſiq; Nepotes?

Is agreement in all other things, all Love

and Forbearance, unleſs there be a centering in the ſame Opinions abſolutely, become criminal, yea deteſtable? Will this way of proceeding compoſe and ſatisfie the minds of men? If there be no other way for a *Coaleſcence* in love and unity in the bond of Peace; but either that the Non-conformiſts do depoſe and change in a moment, as it were, their thoughts, apprehenſions and Judgements about the things in difference amongſt us, which they cannot, which is not in their power to do; or that in the preſence, and with a peculiar reſpect unto the eye and regard of God, they will act contrary unto them, which they ought not, which they dare not, no not upon the preſent inſtruction, the ſtate of theſe things is ſomewhat deplorable.

That alone which in the Diſcourſes mentioned ſeemeth to me of any conſideration, if it have any thing of truth to give it countenance, is that the *Non-Conformiſts* under pretence of preaching *Myſteries* and *Grace*, do neglect the preſſing of *Moral Duties*, which are of near and indiſpenſable concernment unto men in all their Relations and Actions; and without which, Religion is but a pretence and covering for vice and ſin. A crime this is unqueſtio-

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nably of the higheſt nature if true, and ſuch as might juſtly render the whole Profeſſion of thoſe who are guilty of it ſuſpected. And this is again renewed by our Author, who to charge home upon the *Non-Conformiſts* reports the ſaying of *Flacius Illyricus* a *Lutheran* who dyed an hundred years ago; namely that *bona opera ſunt formaliter ad ſalutem*, though I do not remember that any ſuch thing was maintained by *Illyricus*, though it was ſo by *Amſdorfius* againſt *Georgius Major*. But is it not ſtrange, how any man can aſſume to himſelf, and ſwallow ſo much confidence as is needful to the mannagement of this charge? The Books and Treatiſes publiſhed by men of the perſwaſion traduced, their daily preaching witneſſed unto by multitudes of all ſorts of people, the open avowing of their duty in this matter, their principles concerning ſin, duty, holineſs, vertue, righteouſneſs and honeſty, do all of them proclaim the blackneſs of this calumny, and ſink it with thoſe who have taken, or are able to take any ſober cognizance of theſe things, utterly beneath all Conſideration; Moral duties they do eſteem, commend, count as neceſſary in Religion as any men that live under Heaven; It is true they ſay that on a ſuppo-

ſition of that performance whereof they are capable without the aſſiſtance of the Grace and Spirit of God, though they may be good in their own nature, and uſeful to mankind, yet they are not available unto the ſalvation of the ſouls of men; and herein they can prove, that they have the concurrent ſuffrage of all known Churches in the world, both thoſe of old, and theſe at preſent: They ſay moreover, that for men to reſt upon their performances of theſe moral duties for their Juſtification before God, is but to ſet up their own Righteouſneſs through an Ignorance of the Righteouſneſs of God; for we are juſtified freely by his Grace; neither yet are they ſenſible of any oppoſition to this Aſſertion.

For their own diſcharge of the Work of the Miniſtry, they endeavour to take their rule, pattern and inſtruction from the precepts, directions, and examples of them who were firſt commiſſionated unto that work, even the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, recorded in the Scripture, that they might be uſed and improved unto that end. By them are they taught, to endeavour the declaring unto men all the *Counſel of God* concerning his Grace, their Obedience and Salvation; and having the *word*

of

of Reconciliation committed unto them, they do pray their hearers in *Christs ſtead to be reconciled unto God*; to this end do they declare the *unſearchable riches of Chriſt*, and comparatively determine *to know nothing* in this world but *Chriſt and him crucified*, whereby their preaching becometh principally the word or *Doctrine of the Croſs*, which by experience they find to be a *ſtumbling block* unto ſome, and *fooliſhneſs* unto others; by all means endeavouring to make known what *is the riches of the glory of the myſterie of God in Chriſt, reconciling the world unto himſelf*; praying withal *for their Hearers, that the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of Glory, would give unto them the Spirit of Wiſdom and Revelation in the knowledge of him, that the eyes of their underſtanding being enlightned, they may learn to know what is the hope of his Calling, and what the Riches of the Glory of his inheritance in the Saints*; and in theſe things are they not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt, which is the power of God unto ſalvation.

By this Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, do they endeavour to ingenerate in the hearts and ſouls of men, *Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. To prepare them alſo hereunto, they ceaſe not by

by the preaching of the *Law*, to make known to men the *Terror of the Lord*, to convince them of the nature of ſin, of their own loſt and ruined condition by reaſon of it, through its guilt as both Original in their Natures, and Actual in their lives, that they may be ſtirred up to *fly from the wrath to come*, and to lay hold on eternal life; and thus as God is pleaſed to ſucceed them, do they endeavour to lay the great *Foundation Jeſus Chriſt*, in the hearts of their Hearers, and to bring them to an intereſt in him by believing. In the farther purſuit of the work committed unto them, they endeavour more and more to declare unto, and inſtruct their Hearers in all the *Myſteries* and ſaving Truths of the Goſpel, to the end that by the knowledge of them, they may be wrought unto Obedience, and brought to Conformity to Chriſt, which is the end of their Declaration; and in the purſuit of their duty, there is nothing more that they inſiſt upon, as far as ever I could obſerve, than an endeavour to convince men, that that Faith or Profeſſion that doth not manifeſt it ſelf, which is not juſtified by works, which doth not purifie the heart within, that is not fruitful in univerſal Obedience to all the Commands of God, is vain and unpro-

unprofitable; letting them know that though we are *saved by Grace, yet we are the workmanship of God created in Christ Jesus to good works, which he hath ordained for us to walk in them*; a neglect whereof doth uncontrollably evict men of Hypocrisie and falseness in their Profession; that therefore these things in those that are Adult, are indispensably necessary to salvation. Hence do they esteem it their Duty, continually to press upon their Hearers the constant observance and *doing of whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are comely, whatsoever things are of good report*; letting them know that those who are called to a participation of the Grace of the Gospel, have more, higher, stronger obligations upon them to Righteousness, Integrity, Honesty, usefulness amongst men, in all moral duties, throughout all Relations, Conditions and Capacities, than any others whatever.

For any man to pretend, to write, plead that this they do not, but indeed do discountenance Morality and the Duties of it, is to take a liberty of saying what he pleases for his own purpose, when thousands are ready from the highest experience to contradict him. And if this false sup-

ſuppoſition ſhould prove the ſoul that animates any Diſcourſes, let men never ſo paſſionately admire them, and expatiate in the commendation of them, I know ſome that will not be their Rivals in their Extaſies. For the other things which thoſe Books are moſtly filled withal, ſetting aſide frivolous trifling exceptions about *Modes* of Carriage, and common phraſes of ſpeech, altogether unworthy the review or peruſal of a ſerious Perſon, they conſiſt of ſuch exceptions againſt expreſſions, ſayings, occaſional reflections on Texts of Scripture, Invectives, and impertinent calling over of things paſt and by-gone, as the merit of the Cauſe under conteſt is no way concerned in. And if any one would engage in ſo unhandſome an employment, as to collect ſuch fond ſpeeches, futilous expreſſions, ridiculous expoſitions of Scripture, ſmutty paſſages, weak & impertinent Diſcourſes, yea profane ſcurrilities, which ſome others whom for their Honors ſake, and other Reaſons I ſhall not name, have in their Sermons and Diſcourſes about ſacred things been guilty of, he might provide matter enough for a ſcore of ſuch *Dialogues* as the *Friendly Debates*, are compoſed of.

But to return, That the Advantages men-

mentioned are ſomewhat peculiar unto *Dialogues*, we have a ſufficient evidence in this, that our Author having another ſpecial deſign, he choſe another way of writing ſuited thereunto. He profeſſeth, that he hath neither hope, nor expectation to convince his Adverſaries of their *Crimes or Miſtakes*, nor doth endeavour any ſuch thing. Nor did he meerly project to render them contemptible and ridiculous; which to have effected, the writing of *Dialogues* in his mannagement would have been moſt accommodate. But his purpoſe was to expoſe them to perſecution, or to the ſeverity of *Penal Laws* from the Magiſtrate, and if poſſible, it may be, to popular Rage and Fury. The voice of his whole Diſcourſe is the ſame with that of the Jews concerning St. *Paul*, *Away with ſuch fellows from the earth, for it is not meet they ſhould live.* Such an account of his thoughts he gives us; *pag.* 253. ſaith he, *The only cauſe of all our Troubles and Diſturbances* (which what they are he knows not, nor can declare) *is the inflexible perverſeneſs of about an hundred proud, ignorant, and ſeditious Preachers, againſt whom if the ſeverity of the Laws were particularly levelled how eaſie would it be,* &c.

Miſtle

Macte nova virtute puer, sic itur ad astra.

But I hope it will appear before the close of this Discourse, that our Author is far from deserving the reputation of Infallible in his *Politicks*, whatever he may be thought to do in his Divinity. It is sufficiently known how he is mistaken in his Calculation of the numbers of those whom he designs to brand with the blackest marks of Infamy, and whom he exposeth in his Desires to *the severities of Law* for their Ruine. I am sure, it is probable, that there are *more than an hundred* of those whom he intends, who may say unto him, as *Gregory of Nazianzen* introduceth his Father speaking to himself,

Nondum tot sunt anni tui, quot jam in sacris
Nobis sunt peracti victimis,

Who have been longer in the Ministry than He in the World. But suppose there were but *an hundred* of them, he knows, or may know, when there was such a disparity in the numbers of them that contested about Religion, that it was said of them, *All the World against* Athanasius, *and* Athanasius *against the World*; who yet was in the right

right againſt them all, as they muſt acknowledge who frequently ſay or ſing, his *Quicunque vult.*

But how came he ſo well acquainted with them all and every one, as to pronounce of them that they are *Proud*, *Ignorant*, and *ſeditious*; allow him the Liberty, which I ſee he will take whether we allow it him or no, to call whom he pleaſeth *Seditious* upon the account of reall or ſuppoſed principles not complyant with his thoughts and apprehenſions; yet that men are *Proud*, and *Ignorant* how he can prove but by particular Inſtances from his own acquaintance with them, I know not; And if he ſhould be allowed to be a competent judge of Knowledge and Ignorance in the whole compaſs of Wiſdom and Science, which it may be ſome will except againſt, yet unleſs he had perſonally converſed with them all, or were able to give ſufficient inſtances of their ignorance from Actings, Writings, or Expreſſions of their own, he would ſcarce be able to give a Tolerable account of the Honeſty of this his peremptory cenſure; And ſurely this muſt needs be looked on, as a lovely, gentle, and Philoſophick Humour, to judge all men *Proud* and *Ignorant*, who are not of our minds in all things, and on that ground alone.

But

But yet let them be as *ignorant* as can be fancied, this will not determine the Difference between them and their Adversaries. One unlearned *Paphnutius* in the Council of *Nice* stopped all the learned Fathers when they were precipitately casting the Church into a snare; And others as unlearned as He, may Honestly attempt the same at any time. And for our Authors Projection for the obtaining of Quiet by severe dealings with these men in an especial manner, one of the same nature failed in the instance mentioned. For when *Athanasius* stood almost by himself in the *Eastern Empire* for a Profession in Religion, which the supream Magistrate and the generality of the Clergy condemned, it was thought the *Levelling of severity* in particular against Him, would bring all to a Composure. To this purpose after they had again and again charged him to be *Proud and Seditious*, they vigorously engaged in his Prosecution, according to the Projection here proposed, and sought him neer all the World over, but to no purpose at all, as the event discovered. For the Truth which he professed having left its root in the hearts of multitudes of the people, on the first opportunity they returned again to the open avowing of it.

But

But to return from this Digreſſion! this being the Deſign of our Author, not ſo much to expoſe his Adverſaries to common Contempt and Laughter, as to Ruine and Deſtruction, he diverted from the beaten path of *Dialogues*, and betook himſelf unto that of *Rhetorical Invective Declamations*, which is peculiarly ſuited to carry on and promote ſuch a Deſign. I ſhall therefore here leave him for the preſent, following the Triumphant Chariot of his *Friend*; ſinging *io triumphe!* and caſting Reflections upon the Captives that he draggs after him at his chariot wheels, which will doubtleſs ſupply his Imagination with a pleaſing entertainment, untill he ſhall awake out of his dream, and find all the Pageantry that his Fancy hath erected round about him, to vaniſh and diſappear.

His next attempt is upon *Atheiſts*, wherein I have no concern, nor his principal Adverſaries the Non-Conformiſts; For my part I have had this Advantage by my own Obſcurity and ſmall Conſideration in the World, as never to converſe with any perſons that did, or durſt Queſtion the Being or Providence of God, either really or in pretence. By common reports, and publiſhed diſcourſes, I find that there are

not a few in these dayes, who either out of pride and ostentation, or in a real complyance with their own darkness and Ignorance, do boldly venture to dispute the things which we adore; and if I am not greatly mis-informed, a charge of this prodigious Licentiousness and Impiety, may from pregnant instances, be brought neer the doors of some who on other occasions declaim against it. For Practical *Atheism* the matter seems to be unquestionable; many live as though they believed neither God nor Devil in the world, but Themselves; With neither sort am I concerned to treat at present, nor shall I examine the Invectives of our Author against them; though I greatly doubt, whether ever such a kind of Defence of the *Being* of God was written by any man before him. If a man would make a judgement upon the *genius* and way of his Discourse, he might possibly be tempted to fear, that it is persons, rather than Things that are the object of his Indignation; and it may be the fate of some, to suffer under the Infamy of Atheism, as it is thought *Diagoras* did of old, not for denying the Deity, nor for any absurd conceptions of mind concerning it, but for deriding and contemning them, who without any interest in, or sense of Religion,

ligion, did fooliſhly, in Idoliatrous Inſtances make a pretence of it in the world. But whatever wickedneſs or miſcarriages of this nature our Author hath obſerved, his zeal againſt them were greatly to be commended, but that it is not in that *only Inſtance* wherein he allows of the exerciſe of that vertue, Let it then be his Anger or Indignation, or what he pleaſes, that he may not miſs of his due praiſes and commendation. Only I muſt ſay, that I queſtion whether to charge perſons enclined to *Atheiſm* with profaning *Johnſon* and *Fletcher* as well as the *Holy Scriptures*, be a way of proceeding probably ſuited to their Conviction or Reduction.

It ſeems alſo that thoſe who are here chaſtiſed do vent their **Atheiſm** in *Scoffing* and *Drollery*, *jeſting*, and ſuch like contemptible efforts of Wit, that may take for a while amongſt *little and unlearned people*, and immediately evaporate. I am afraid more of thoſe who under pretences of *ſober Reaſon* do vent and maintain opinions and principles that have a direct tendency to give an open admiſſion unto *Atheiſm* in the minds of men, than of ſuch fooleries. When others fury and raving cruelties ſucceeded not, he alone prevailed, *qui ſolus acceſſit ſobrius ad perdendam Remp.* One

principle contended for as Rational and true, which if admitted will insensibly seduce the mind unto, and justifie a practice ending in Atheism, is more to be feared, than ten thousand jests and scoffs against Religion, which methinks, amongst men of any tolerable Sobriety should easily be buried under Contempt and Scorn. And our Author may do well to consider whether he hath not, unwittingly I presume, in some instances, so expressed and demeaned himself, as to give no small Advantage to those corrupt Inclinations unto Atheism, which abound in the hearts of men; Are not men taught here to keep the Liberty of their Minds and Judgements to themselves, whilest they practise that which they approve not, nor can do so; which is directly to act against the light and conviction of Conscience? And yet an associate of his in his present design, in *a modest and free Conference*, tells us, that there is *not a wider step to Atheism than to do any thing against Conscience*, and enforms his Friend, that *Dissent out of grounds that appear to any founded on the will of God, is Conscience*; but against such a Conscience, the Light, Judgement and Conviction of it, are men here taught to practise; and thereby in the judgement of that Author, are instructed

unto

unto Atheiſm. And indeed if once men find themſelves at Liberty to practiſe contrary to what is preſcribed unto them in the name and authority of God, as all things are which Conſcience requires, it is not long that they will retain any regard of him, or Reverence unto Him. It hath hitherto been the Judgement of all, who have enquired into theſe things, that the great concern of the Glory of God in the world, the intereſt of Kings and Rulers, of all Governments whatever, the good and welfare of private perſons, lyes in nothing more, than in preſerving Conſcience from being debauched in the conducting principles of it; and in keeping up its due Reſpect to the immediate Soveraignty of God over it in all things. Neither ever was there a more horrid attempt upon the Truth of the Goſpel, all common Morality, and the good of Mankind, than that which ſome of late years or Ages have been engaged in, by ſuggeſting in their *Caſuiſtical Writings* ſuch principles for the guidance of the Conſciences of men, as in ſundry particular inſtances might ſet them free, as to practice, from the direct and immediately influencing Authority of God in his Word. And yet I doubt not, but it may be made evident, that all their prin-

in conjunction are ſcarce of ſo pernicious a tendency as this one general *Theorem*, That men may lawfully act in the Worſhip of God, or otherwiſe, againſt the Light, Dictates, or Convictions of their own Conſciences. Exempt Conſcience from an abſolute, immediate, entire, univerſal dependance on the Authority, Will, and Judgement of God, according to what Conceptions it hath of them, and you diſturb the whole harmony of divine Providence in the Government of the World; and break the firſt link of that great chain whereon all Religion and Government in the world do depend. Teach men to be like *Naaman* the *Syrian* to believe only in the God of *Iſrael*, and to Worſhip Him according to his Appointment by his own Choice, and from a ſenſe of duty, yet alſo to bow in the houſe *of Rimmon* contrary to his Light and Conviction out of Complyance with his Maſter; or with the men *of Samaria* to *fear the Lord*, but *to worſhip their Idols*, and they will not fail at one time or other, rather to ſeek after Reſt in reſtleſs Atheiſm, than to live in a perpetual conflict with themſelves, or to cheriſh an everlaſting Sedition in their own boſomes.

I ſhall not much reflect upon thoſe Expreſſions

preſſions which our Author is pleaſed to vent his Indignation by; ſuch as *Religious rage, and fury, Religious villany, religious lunacies, ſerious and Conſciencious Villanies, wildneſs of godly madneſs*, men lead *by the Spirit of God to diſturb the publick peace*, the *world filled with a buzze and noiſe of the divine Spirit, ſanctified fury, ſanctified barbariſm, pious villanies, godly diſobedience, ſullen and croſs-grained godlineſs*, with innumerable others of the like kind; which although perhaps he may countenance himſelf in the uſe of, from the tacite reſpect that he hath to the perſons whom he intends to vilifie and reproach; yet in themſelves, and to others, who have not the ſame apprehenſions of their occaſion, they tend to nothing but to beget a ſcorn and deriſion of all Religion, and the profeſſion of it; an humour which will not find where to reſt or fix it ſelf, untill it comes to be ſwallowed up in the Abyſſe of Atheiſm.

We are at length arrived at the *laſt Act* of this *Tragical Preface*; and as in our progreſs we have rather heard a great Noiſe and Bluſter, than really encountred either true difficulty or danger; ſo now I confeſs that Wearineſs of converſing with ſo many various ſounds of the ſame ſignification,

the ſumm of all being *Knaves*, *Villains*, *Fools*, will carry me through the remainder of it, with ſome more than ordinary precipitation, as grudging an Addition in this kind of employment to thoſe *few minutes* wherein the preceding Remarques were written or dictated.

There are two or three heads which the remainders of this *Prefatory Diſcourſe* may be reduced unto. Firſt, a magnificent Proclamation of his own Achievements; what he hath proved, what he hath done, eſpecially in repreſenting the *Inconſiſtence of Liberty of Conſcience with the firſt and Fundamental Laws of Government*; and I am content that he pleaſe himſelf with his own Apprehenſions, like him who admired at the marvelous feats performed in an empty Theatre. For it may be that upon examination it will be found, that there is ſcarce in his whole Diſcourſe any one Argument offered at, that hath the leaſt ſeeming cogency towards ſuch an end; Whether you take Liberty of Conſcience, for Liberty of Judgement, which himſelf confeſſeth uncontroleable, or Liberty of Practice upon Indulgence which he ſeems to oppoſe, an impartial Reader will I doubt be ſo far from finding the Concluſion mentioned to be evinced, as he will ſcarcely be

be able to satisfie himself that there are any Premises that have a tendency thereunto. But I suppose he must extreamly want an Employment who will design himself a business, in endeavouring to dispossess him of his self-pleasing Imagination. Yea he seems not to have pleaded his own cause absurdly at *Athens*, who giving the City the news of a Victory when they had received a Fatal Defeat, affirmed that publick thanks were due to him, for affording them two dayes of Mirth and Jollity, before the tidings came of their ill success; which was more than they were ever like to see again in their lives. And there being as much satisfaction in a fancied, as a real success, though useless and failing, we shall leave our Author in the highest contentment that thoughts of this nature can afford him. However it may not be amiss to mind him of that old good Counsel, *Let not him that girdeth on his Armour, boast like him that putteth it off.*

Another part of his Oration is to decry the folly of that *brutish Apprehension* that men can possibly live peaceably and quietly if they enjoy the Liberty of their Consciences; where he fears not to affirm, that it is more elegible *to tolerate the highest Debaucheries*, than liberty for men to worship God

God according to what they apprehend he requires; whence ſome ſevere perſons would be too apt it may be to make a conjecture of his own Inclinations; for it is evident that he is not abſolutely inſenſible of ſelf-intereſt in what he doth or writes. But the contrary to what he aſſerts, being a truth at this day written with the beams of the Sun in many Nations of *Europe*, let Envy, Malice, Fear, and Revenge ſuggeſt what they pleaſe otherwiſe, and the Nature of the Thing it ſelf denyed being built upon the beſt, greateſt, and ſureſt Foundations and Warranty that mankind hath to build on, or truſt unto for their peace and ſecurity, I know not why it's denial was here ventured at, unleſs it were to embrace an opportunity once more to give vent to the remainders of his Indignation, by Revilings and Reproaches, which I had hoped had been now exhauſted.

But theſe things are but Collateral to his principal Deſign in this cloſe of his Declamation; and this is the Removal of an Objection, that *Liberty of Conſcience would conduce much to the Improvement of Trade in the Nation.* It is known that many perſons of great Wiſdom and Experience, and who, as it is probable, have had more time

time to consider the State and proper Interest of this Nation, and have spent more pains in the weighing of all things conducing thereunto than our Author hath done, are of this mind and judgement. But he at once strikes them and their Reasons dumb, by drawing out his *Gorgon's head*, that he hath proved it *inconsistent with Government*, and so it must needs be a *foolish and silly thing* to talk of its usefulness to Trade. *Verum, ad populum phalera*; if great blustering words, dogmatical Assertions, uncouth, unproved principles, accompanied with a pretence of Contempt and scorn of all exceptions and oppositions to what is said, with the persons of them that make them, may be esteemed proofs, our Author can prove what he pleaseth, and he is to be thought to have proved whatever he affirms himself so to have done. If sober Reason, Experience, Arguments derived from common acknowledged Principles of Truth, If a Confirmation of Deductions from such principles, by confessed and commonly approved Instances are necessary to make up convincing proofs in matters of this Nature and Importance, we are yet to seek for them, notwithstanding any thing that hath been offered by this Author, or as far as I can conjecture

is

is likely so to be. In the mean time I acknowledge many parts of his Discourse to be singularly remarkable. His Insinuation *That the Affairs of the Kingdom are not in a fixed and established condition, that we are distracted amongst our selves with a strange variety of Jealousies and Animosities*, and such like expressions, as if divulged in a Book printed without Licence, would and that justly, be looked on as *Seditious*, are the Foundations that he proceedeth upon. Now as I am confident that there is very little ground, or none at all for these Insinuations, so the publick disposing of the minds of men to *fears*, *suspicions*, and *apprehensions* of unseen dangers by such means, becomes them only, who care not what disadvantage they cast others, nay their Rulers under, so they may compass and secure their own private ends and concerns.

But yet not content to have expressed his own real or pretended apprehensions, he proceeds to manifest his scorn of those, or *his smiling at them*, who *with mighty projects labour for the improvement of Trade*, which the *Council* appointed, as I take it, by His Majesty thence denominated, is more concerned in than the *Non-conformists*, and may do well upon this Information finding them-

themſelves lyable to ſcorn, to deſiſt from ſuch an uſeleſs and contemptible employment. They may now know, that to *erect and encourage trading Combinations, is only to build ſo many Neſts of Faction and Sedition*; for he ſayes, *there is not any ſort of people ſo inclinable to ſeditious practices as the trading part of a Nation*; *and that their Pride and Arrogance naturally encreaſe with the improvement of their ſtock.* Beſides *the Fanatick party*, as he ſayes, *live in theſe greater Societies, and it is a very odd and prepoſterous folly, to deſign the enriching of that ſort of people; for wealth doth but only pamper and encourage their preſumption*; *and he is a very ſilly man, and underſtands nothing of the follies, paſſions and inclinations of humane nature, who ſees not that there is no creature ſo ungovernable as a wealthy Fanatick.*

It cannot be denyed, but that this *Modern Policy*, runs contrary to the principles and experience of former Ages. To preſerve induſtrious men in a peaceable way of emproving their own Intereſts, whereby they might partake in their own and family concerns, of the good and advantages of Government, hath been by the weak and ſilly men of former Generations, eſteemed the moſt rational way of inducing

cing their minds unto peaceable thoughts and resolutions. For as the wealth of men encreaseth, so do their desires and endeavours after all things and wayes whereby it may be secured; that so they may not have spent their labour and the vigour of their spirits with reference unto their own good and that of their posterity in vain. Yea, most men are found to be of *Issachar's* temper, who when he saw, *that Rest was good, and the Land pleasant*, wherein his own advantages lay, *bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto Tribute*; *Fortes* and *Miseri*, have heretofore been only feared, and not such as found satisfaction to their desires in the encreases and successes of their endeavours. And as *Cæsar* said, he feared not those fat and corpulent persons *Anthony* and *Dolabella*, but those pale and lean discontented ones, *Brutus* and *Cassius*; So men have been thought to be far less dangerous, or to be suspected in Government, who are well clothed with their own wealth and concerns, than such as have nothing but themselves to lose, and by reason of their straights and distresses, do scarce judge them worth the keeping.

And hath this Gentleman really considered what the meaning of that word

Trade

Trade is, and what is the concernment of this Nation in it? or is he ſo fond of his own Notions and Apprehenſions, as to judge it meet that the Vital Spirits and Blood of the Kingdom ſhould be offered in Sacrifice unto them? *Solomon* tells us, that the *profit of the Earth is for all, and the King himſelf is ſerved by the field*; and we may truly in *England* ſay the ſame of Trade; all men know what reſpect unto it there is in the *Revenues of the Crown*, and how much they are concerned in its growth and promotion; the *Rents of all* from the higheſt to the loweſt that have an intereſt in the ſoyl, are regulated by it, and riſe and fall with it; nor is there any poſſibility to keep them up to their preſent proportion and ſtandard, much leſs to advance them, without the continuance of Trade in its preſent condition at leaſt, nay without a ſteddy endeavour for its encreaſe, furtherance and promotion. Noblemen and Gentlemen muſt be contented to eat their own Bief and Mutton at home, if Trade decay; to keep up their antient and preſent Splendour, they will find no way or means. Corporations are known to be the moſt conſiderable and ſignificant Bodies of the Common people, and here-in lies their *Being* and *Bread*; to diminiſh or

diſ-

discountenance their Trade, is to starve them, and discourage all honest Industry in the world. It was a sad desolation that not long since befell the great City by Fire; yet through the good Providence of God, under the peaceable Government of his Majesty, it is rising out of its ashes, with a new signal Beauty and Lustre. But that Consumption and Devastation of it, which the pursuit of this Council will inevitably produce, would prove Fatal and Irreparable. And as the Interest of all the several parts of the Common-wealth do depend on the Trade of the people amongst our selves, so the honor, power and security of the whole in reference unto forraign Nations, are resolved also into the same Principles; for as our soyl is but small in comparison of some of our Neighbours, and the numbers of our people no wayes to be compared with theirs, so if we should forego the advantages of Trade for which we have opportunities, and unto which the people of this Nation have Inclinations, above any Countrey or Nation in the world, we should quickly find how unequal the Competition between them and us would be: for even our Naval Force, which is the honour of the King, the security of his Kingdoms, the Terror

of

of his Enemies, oweth its riſe and continuance unto that preparation of perſons employed therein, which is made by the Trade of the Nation. And if the Councel of this Author ſhould be followed, to ſuſpend all thoughts of the ſupportment, encouragement, and furtherance of Trade, until all men by the ſeverity of Penalties ſhould be induced to an Uniformity in Religion; I doubt not but our envious Neighbours would as readily diſcern the concernment of their malice and ill will therein, as *Hannibal* did his, in the Action of the *Roman General*, who at the Battel of *Cannæ*, according to their uſual Diſcipline, (but fatally at that time miſapplyed) cauſed in the great diſtreſs of the Army, his Horſemen to alight and fight on foot, not conſidering the Advantage of his great and politick enemy, as things then ſtood, who immediately ſaid, *I had rather he had delivered them all bound unto me*, though he knew there was enough done to ſecure his Victory.

A SURVEY OF THE FIRST CHAPTER.

THE Author of this Diſcourſe, ſeems in this *Firſt Chapter* to deſign the ſtating of the Controverſie, which he intendeth to purſue and handle, (as he expreſſeth himſelf *pag.* 11.) as alſo to lay down the Main *Foundations* of his enſuing Superſtructure. Nothing could be more regularly projected, nor more ſuited to the ſatisfaction of ingenious Inquirers into the matters under debate; For thoſe, who have any deſign in reading, beyond a preſent divertiſement of their Minds, or entertainment

tainment of their Fancies, desire nothing more than to have the subject matter which they exercise their thoughts about, clearly and distinctly proposed, that a true judgement may be made concerning *what men say, and whereof they do affirm.* But I fear our Author hath fallen under the misadventure of a failure in these projections; at least as unto that certainty, clearness, and perspicuity in the declaration of his Conceptions, and expression of his Assertions and Principles; without which all other Ornaments of Speech in matters of moment, are of no use or consideration. His Language is good and proper, his Periods of Speech laboured, full, and even; his expressions poynant towards his Adversaries, and singly taken, appearing to be very significative and expressive of his mind. But I know not how it is come to pass, that what either through his own defect, as to a due comprehension of the notions whose mannagement he hath undertaken, or out of a design to cloud and obscure his sentiments, and to take the advantage of loose declamatory expressions, it is very hard, if possible, to gather from what he hath written, either what is the true state of the Controversie proposed to discussion, or

what

what is the preciſe determinate ſenſe of of thoſe words wherein he propoſeth the Principles that he proceeds upon. Thus in the Title of the Book he aſſerts the *Power of the Magiſtrate over the Conſciences of men*; elſewhere confines the whole *work and duty of Conſcience to the inward thoughts and perſwaſions of the mind, over which the Magiſtrate hath no power at all.* Conſcience it ſelf he ſometimes ſayes is *every mans Opinion*; ſometimes he calls it an *Imperious Faculty*, which ſurely are not the ſame; ſometimes he pleads for the *uncontrollable power of Magiſtrates over Religion and the Conſciences of men*; ſometimes aſſerts their *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* as the ſame thing, and ſeemingly all that he intends; whereas I ſuppoſe, no man ever yet defined Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, to be, *an uncontrollable power over Religion and the Conſciences of Men.* The Magiſtrates *power over Religion* he aſſerts frequently, and denyeth outward *Worſhip to be any part of Religion*, and at laſt pleads upon the matter only for his power over outward Worſhip. Every *particular Vertue* he affirms to be ſuch, becauſe it is *a Reſemblance and Imitation of ſome of the Divine Attributes*; yet alſo teacheth that there may be more vertues, or new ones that were not ſo, and that to

be Vertue in one place which is not so in another: Sometimes he pleads that the Magistrate hath power to impose *any Religion on the Consciences of his Subjects, that doth not countenance Vice, or disgrace the Deity*; and then anon pleads for it in *indifferent things*, and circumstances of outward Worship only. Also that the Magistrate may *oblige his Subjects Consciences* to the performance of Moral Duties, and other Duties in Religious Worship under penalties, and yet *punisheth none for their Crime and Guilt*, but for the example of others. And many other Instances of the like Nature may be given. Now, whatever dress of words these things may be set off withal, they savour rankly of crude and undigested Notions, not reduced unto such a Consistency in his mind, as to suffer him to speak evenly, steadily, and constantly to them Upon the whole matter, it may not be unmeetly said of his Discourse, what *Tully* said of *Rullus* his Oration about the *Agrarian Law*; *Concionem advocari jubet; summâ cum expectatione concurritur; Explicat Orationem sane longam & verbis valdè bonis; Unum erat quod mihi vitiosum videbatur; quod tantâ ex frequentiâ nemo inveniri potuit qui intelligere posset quid diceret. Hoc ille utrum insidiarum causâ fecerit, an hoc genere Eloquentia*

tiæ delectetur, neſcio; tamen ſiqui acutiores in concione ſteterant, de Lege Agrariâ neſcio quid voluiſſe eum dicere ſuſpicabantur. Many good words it is compoſed of, many ſharp Reflections are made on others, a great Appearance there is of Reaſon; but beſides that, it is plain that he treats of the *Nonconformiſts* and the *Magiſtrates power*, and would have this latter exerciſed about the puniſhment or deſtruction of the former, (which almoſt every Page expreſſeth) it is very hard to gather what is the Caſe he ſpeaks unto, or what are principles he proceeds upon.

The entrance of his Diſcourſe is deſigned to give an account of the great Difficulty which he intends to aſſoyl, of the Controverſie that he will handle and debate, and of the Difference which he will compoſe. Here, if any where, Accuracy, Perſpicuity, and a clear diſtinct direction of the minds of the Readers unto a certain juſt Apprehenſion of the matter in queſtion and difference, ought to be expected. For if the foundation of Diſcourſes of this nature, be laid in terms general, ambiguous, looſe, rhetorical, and flouriſhing, giving no particular determinate ſenſe of the Controverſie, (for ſo this is called by our Author) all that enſues in the purſuit of

what is ſo laid down, muſt needs be of the ſame complexion. And ſuch appears to be the *declamatory entrance* of this Chapter. For inſtead of laying a ſolid Foundation to erect his ſuperſtructure upon, the Author ſeems in it only to have built a *Caſtle in the Air*, that makes a goodly appearance and ſhew, but is of no validity or uſe. Can he ſuppoſe that any man is the wiſer, or the more intelligent in the difference about Liberty of Conſcience, the power and duty of Magiſtrates in granting or denying an Indulgence unto the exerciſe of it, by reading an elegant parabolical Diſcourſe of *two Supream Powers, the Magiſtrate and Conſcience, conteſting for Soveraignty, in and about* no man knows what? What Conſcience is; what Liberty of Conſcience; what it is pleaded for to extend unto, who are concerned in it; whether its Plea be reſolved abſolutely into its own Nature and Conſtitution, or into that reſpect which it hath to another common Rule of the minds and conceptions of men in and about the Worſhip of God, is not declared; nor is it eaſily diſcernable, what he allows and approves of in his own Diſcourſe, and what he introduceth to reflect upon, and ſo reject. *Pag.* 5. he tells us, that *Conſcience is ſubject*

and

and accountable to God alone, that it owns no Superiour but the Lord of Consciences. And pag. 7. *That those who make it accountable to none but God alone, do in effect usurp their Princes Crown, defie his Authority, and acknowledge no Governour but themselves.* If it be pleaded that in the first place, not what is, but what is unduly pretended is declared, his words may be as well so expounded in all his Ascriptions unto Magistrates also; namely, that it is not with them as he asserts; but only 'tis unduly pretended so to be, as to any thing that appears in the Discourse. The distinct consideration of the Principles of Conscience, and the outward exercise of it, can alone here give any shew of Relief. But as no Distinction of that nature doth as yet appear, and if rested on, ought to have been produced by any one who understood himself, and intended not to deceive or entangle others, so when it is brought on the Stage, its inconsistency to serve the end designed shall be evinced. But that a plea for the Consciences of private men, (submitting themselves freely and willingly to the Supream Power and Government of Magistrates in all things belonging to publick peace and tranquility,) to have liberty to express their Obedience

dience unto God in the exercise of his outward Worship, should receive such a *Tragical* description of a *Rival Supreame Power set up against the Magistrate to the usurpation of his Crown and Dignity*, is a new way of stating Controversies whether in Divinity or Policy, which this Author judgeth conducing to his design and purpose. And I shall say no more but that those who delight in such a way of writing, and do receive light and satisfaction thereby, do seem to be exercised in a *Logick* that I was never acquainted withal, and which I shall not now enquire after.

What seems to be of real Difficulty in this matter which is so *rhetorically* exaggerated, our Blessed Saviour hath stated and determined in one word; *Give*, saith he, *unto* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsar's, *and to God the things that are Gods*; and this he did, when he gave his Disciples command not only to think, judge and believe according to what he should propose and reveal unto them, but also to *observe and do in outward practices* what ever he should *command them*. As he requires all subjection unto the Magistrate in things of his proper Cognizance, that is all things necessary to publick Peace and Tranquility in this world the great end of His Authority;

ty: So he asserts also that there are *things of God* which are to be observed and practised, even *all and every one of his own commands*; in a neglect whereof on any pretence or account, we give not unto God that which is *His*. And he doubted not, but that these things, these distinct respects to God and man, were exceedingly well consistent, and together directive to the same end of publick good. Wherefore passing through the flourishes of this Frontispiece with the highest inconcernment, we may enter the Fabrick it self, where possibly we may find him declaring directly what it is that he asserts in this matter, and contendeth for; and this he doth pag. 10. *And therefore it is the design of this Discourse by a fair and impartial Debate to compose all these differences and adjust all these quarrels and contentions, and settle things upon their true and proper foundations; first by proving it to be absolutely necessary to the peace and Government of the World, that the Supream Magistrate of every Commonwealth should be vested with a power to govern and conduct the Consciences of Subjects in Affairs of Religion.*

I am sure our Author will not be surprized, if after he hath reported the whole

whole Party whom he oppoſeth, as a Company of *ſilly*, *fooliſh*, *illiterate* Perſons, one of them ſhould ſo far acknowledge his own *ſtupidity*, as to profeſs that after the Conſideration of this Declaration of his Intention and mind, he is yet to ſeek for the Direct and determinate ſenſe of his Words, and for the Principle that he deſignes the Confirmation of. I doubt not but that the Magiſtrate hath all that power which is abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of publick Peace and Tranquility in the world. But if men may be allowed to fancy what they pleaſe to be neceſſary unto that end, and thence to make their own meaſures of that power which is to be aſcribed unto Him, no man knows what bounds will be fixed unto that Ocean wherein the Leviathans they have framed in their Imagination may ſport themſelves. Some will perhaps think it neceſſary to this purpoſe that the Magiſtrate ſhould have power to declare, and determine *whether there be a God or no* ; whether if there be, it be neceſſary He ſhould be worſhipped or no ; whether any Religion be needful in, or uſefull to the World ; and if there be, then to determine what all ſubjects ſhall believe, and practiſe from firſt to laſt in the whole of it. And our Author

thor hopes that ſome are of this mind. Others may confine it to leſſer things, according as their own Intereſt doth call upon them ſo to do; though they are not able to aſſign a clear diſtinction between what is ſubjected unto Him, and what may plead an exemption from his Authority. He indeed who is the Fountain and Original of all Power, hath both aſſigned its proper end, and fully ſuited it to the attainment thereof. And if the noiſe of mens Luſts, Paſſions, and Intereſts, were but a little ſilenced, we ſhould quickly hear the harmonious conſenting voice of Humane nature it ſelf, declaring the juſt proportion that is between the Grant of power and its end; and undeniably expreſs it in all the inſtances of it. For as the Principle of Rule and Subjection, is natural to us, concreated with us, and indiſpenſably neceſſary to Humane Society in all the diſtinctions it is capable of, and Relations whence thoſe Diſtinctions ariſe; ſo Nature it ſelf duly attended unto, will not fail by the Reaſon of things, to direct us unto all that is eſſential unto it, and neceſſary unto its end. Arbitrary Fictions of Ends of Government, and what is neceſſary thereunto, influenced by preſent Intereſt, and ariſing from circumſtances confined to

one

one Place, Time, or Nation, are not to be impoſed on the Nature of Government it ſelf; which hath nothing belonging unto it but what inſeparably accompanieth mankind as Sociable.

But to let this paſs; The Authority here particularly aſſerted, is a *Power in the ſupream Magiſtrate to govern and guide the Conſciences of his Subjects in affairs of Religion*. Let any man duly conſider theſe expreſſions, and if he be ſatisfied by them as to the ſenſe of the *Controverſie* under debate, I ſhall acknowledge that he is wiſer than I, which is very eaſie for any one to be. What are the *Affairs of Religion* here intended, all or ſome? Whether *in* Religion, or *about* it; what are the *Conſciences of men*, and how exerciſed about theſe things; what it is to *govern and conduct* them; with *what power*, by what means this may be done; I am at a loſs for ought that yet is here declared. There is a Guidance, Conduct, yea *Government* of the Conſciences of men, by Inſtructions and Directions in a due propoſal of rational and ſpiritual motives for thoſe ends; ſuch as is that which is veſted in, and exerciſed by the Guides of the Church; and that in ſubjection to, and dependance on Chriſt alone, as hath been hitherto apprehended;

hended; though ſome now ſeem to have a mind to change their Maſter, and to take up *præſente Numine* who may be of more Advantage to them. That the Magiſtrate hath alſo power ſo to *govern and conduct the Conſciences of his Subjects* in his way of Adminiſtration, that is by ordering them to be taught, inſtructed, and guided in their duty, I know none that doth deny. So did *Jehoſophat*, 2 *Chron.* 17, 7, 8, 9. But it ſeems to be a *Government and Guidance* of another nature that is here intended. To deliver our ſelves therefore from the Deceit and Intanglement of theſe general expreſſions, and that we may know what to ſpeak unto, we muſt ſeek for a Declaration of their ſenſe and Importance from what is elſewhere in their purſuit affirmed and explained by their Author.

His general Aſſertion is (as was obſerved) that the *Magiſtrate hath power over the Conſciences of his Subjects in Religion*, as appears in the Title of his Book; Here p. 10. that *power*, is ſaid to be, *to govern and conduct their Conſciences in Religious Affairs*; pag. 13. *that Religion is ſubject to his dominion as well as all other affairs of State*, pag. 27. *it is a Soveraignty over mens Conſciences in matters of Religion, and this Univerſal, Abſolute, and Uncontrollable*;

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Matters of Religion are as uncontrollably ſubject to the ſupream power, as all other Civil Concerns; *He may if he pleaſe reſerve the Exerciſe of the Prieſthood to Himſelf*, p. 32. that is, what now in Religion correſponds unto the ancient Prieſthood, as the Ordering Biſhops and *Prieſts*, Adminiſtring Sacraments and the like; as the Papiſts in Q. *Elizabeth*'s time did commonly report, in their uſual manner, that it was done by a *Woman* amongſt us, by a fiction of ſuch principles as begin it ſeems now to be owned. That if this *power of the Government of Religion be not Univerſal and Unlimited it is uſeleſs*, p. 35. that this *power is not derived from Chriſt, nor any grant of his, but is antecedent to his coming, or any power given unto Him or granted by Him*, pag. 40. *Magiſtrates have a power to make that a particular of the Divine Law, which God had not made ſo*, p. 80. *and to introduce new duties in the moſt important parts of Religion. So that there is a publick conſcience which men are in things of a publick concern (relating to the Worſhip of God) to attend unto and not to their own. And if there be any ſin in the command, he that impoſed it, ſhall anſwer for it, and not I whoſe whole duty it is to obey*, p. 308. Hence the command of *Authority will warrant obedience, and*

obedience

obedience will hallow my actions, and excuse me from sin, ibid. Hence it follows, that whatever the Magistrate commands in Religion, his Authority doth so immediately affect the Consciences of men, that they are bound to observe it on the pain of the greatest sin and punishment; And he may appoint and command whatever he pleaseth in Religion, *that doth not either countenance Vice, or disgrace the Deity*, p. 85. And many other expressions are there of the general Assertion before laid down.

This therefore seems to me, and to the most impartial Considerations of this Discourse that I could bring unto it, to be the Doctrine or Opinion proposed and advanced for the quieting and composing of the great tumults described in its entrance; namely, That the supream *Magistrate* in every Nation hath power to order and appoint what Religion his Subjects shall profess and observe, or what he pleaseth in Religion, as to the worship of God required in it, provided that he *enjoyneth nothing that countenanceth Vice, or disgraceth the Deity*; and thereby binds their Consciences to profess and observe that which is by him so appointed (and nothing else are they to observe) making it their duty in Conscience

ſo to do ; and the higheſt Crime or Sin to do any thing to the contrary ; and that whatever the preciſe Truth in theſe matters be, or whatever be the apprehenſions of their own Conſciences concerning them. Now if our Author can produce any Law, Uſage, or Cuſtome of this Kingdom, any Statute or Act of Parliament, any authentick Record, any Acts or Declarations of our Kings, any publickly authoriſed writing, before or ſince the Reformation, declaring, aſſerting, or otherwiſe approving the Power and Authority deſcribed, to belong unto, to be claimed or exerciſed by the Kings of this Nation, I will faithfully promiſe him never to write one word againſt it, although I am ſure I ſhall never be of that mind. And if I miſtake not in a tranſient Reflection on theſe Principles, compared with thoſe which the Church of *England* hath formerly pleaded againſt them who oppoſed her Conſtitutions, they are utterly by them caſt out of all conſideration ; and this one notion is advanced in the room of all the Foundations, which for ſo many years her Defenders, (as wiſe and as Learned as this Author) have been building upon. But this is not my concernment to examine ; I ſhall leave it unto them whoſe it is, and whoſe

it

it will be made appear to be, if we are again neceſſitated to engage in this diſpute.

For the preſent; be it granted, that it is the duty, and in the power of every ſupream Magiſtrate, to Order, and Determine what Religion, what Way, what Modes in Religion ſhall be allowed, publickly owned, and countenanced, and by publick revenue maintained in his Dominions. That is, this is allowed with reſpect to all pretenſions of other Soveraigns, or of his own Subjects; with reſpect unto God, it is his Truth alone, the Religion by him revealed, and the Worſhip by him appointed that he can ſo allow or eſtabliſh. The Rule that holds in private perſons with reſpect to the publick *Magiſtrate*, holds in him with reſpect unto God. *Illud poſſumus quod jure poſſumus.* It is alſo agreed, that no men, no individual Perſon, no Order, or Society of men, are either in their perſons or any of their outward concerns, exempted, or may be ſo on the account of Religion, from His Power and Juriſdiction; nor any Cauſes that are lyable unto a legal, political diſpoſal and determination; It is alſo freely acknowledged that whatever ſuch a *Magiſtrate* doth determ about the Obſervances of Religion.

under what penalties ſoever, His Subjects are bound to obſerve what He doth ſo command and appoint, unleſs by general or eſpecial Rules, their Conſciences are obliged to a Diſſent, or contrary Obſervation by the Authority of God and His Word; In this caſe they are to keep their Souls entire in their ſpiritual ſubjection unto God, and quietly and peaceably to bear the troubles, and inconveniencies which on the account thereof may befall them, without the leaſt withdrawing of their Obedience from the Magiſtrate. And in this ſtate of things as there is no Neceſſity or appearance of it, that any man ſhould be brought into ſuch a condition, as wherein Sin on the one hand, or the other, cannot be avoided; ſo that ſtate of things will probably occurr in the world, as it hath done in all Ages hitherto, that men may be neceſſitated to Sin, or Suffer.

To winde up the ſtate of this Controverſie; we ſay that antecedent to the Conſideration of the power of the Magiſtrate, and all the Influence that it hath upon men or their Conſciences, there is a ſuperiour determination of what is true, what falſe in Religion, what right and what wrong in the Worſhip of God, wherein the Guidance

Guidance of the Conſciences of men doth principally depend, and whereinto it is ultimately reſolved. This gives an Obligation, or Liberty unto them, antecedent unto the impoſition of the Magiſtrate, of whoſe command and our actual Obedience unto them in theſe things, it is the Rule and *Mea*ſure. And I think there is no Principle, no common preſumption of Nature, nor dictate of Reaſon more evident, known, or confeſſed, than this, that whatever God *commands* Us in his Worſhip or otherwiſe, that we are to do; and whatever he forbids us, that we are not to do, be the things themſelves in our eye great, or ſmall.

Neither is there any difference in theſe things with reſpect unto the Way or manner of the declaration of the Will of God; Whether it be by *innate common light*, or by Revelation, all is one; The Authority and Will of God in all is to be obſerved. Yea a Command of God made known by Revelation, (the way which is moſt contended about) may ſuſpend as to any particular Inſtance, the greateſt command that we are obliged unto by the Law of Nature in reference unto one another; as it did in the precept given to *Abraham* for the Sacrificing of his Son. And we ſhall

find our Author himſelf ſetting up the Supremacy of Conſcience in oppoſition unto, and competition with that of the *Magiſtrate*, (though with no great ſelf-conſiſtency) aſcribing the preheminence and prevalency in obligation unto that of Conſcience, and that in the principal and moſt important duties of Religion and humane life. Such are all thoſe moral Vertues, which have in their Nature a reſemblance of the divine perfections, wherein he placeth the Subſtance of Religion; With reſpect unto theſe, he ſo ſetteth up the Throne of Conſcience, as to affirm that if any thing be commanded by the *Magiſtrate* againſt them, *to diſobey Him is no Sin, but a Duty*; and we ſhall find the Caſe to be the ſame in matters of meer Revelation. For what God commands that he commands, by what way ſoever that commnad be made known to us. And there is no conſideration that can adde any thing to the obligatory power and efficacy of infinite Authority. So that where the Will of God is the formal Reaſon of our Obedience, it is all one how or by what means it is diſcovered unto us. Whatever we are inſtructed in by innate Reaſon, or by Revelation, the Reaſon why we are bound by it, is neither the one nor the

the other, but the Authority of God in both.

But we must return unto the Consideration of the Sentiments of our Author in this matter as before laid down. The Authority ascribed to the Civil Magistrate being as hath been expressed; it will be very hard for any one to distinguish between it and the Soveraignty that the Lord Christ himself hath in and over his Church; yea if there be any Advantage on either side, or a comparative preheminence, it will be found to be cast upon that of the Magistrate. Is the Lord Christ the Lord of the Souls and Consciences of men? Hath he dominion over them to rule them in the things of the Worship of God? It is so with the Magistrate also; He hath an *universal power over the Consciences of his Subjects.* Doth the Lord Christ require his Disciples to do and observe in the Worship of God what ever he commanded them? So also may the Magistrate, the *Rule and Conduct of Conscience in these matters belonging unto him*; provided that he command nothing that may *countenance Vice, or disgrace the Deity*; which, with Reverence be it spoken, our Lord Jesus Christ himself, not only on the Account of the Perfection and rectitude of his own

Nature, but alſo of his Commiſſion from the Father, could not do. Is the Authority of Chriſt the formal Reaſon making Obedience neceſſary to his Commands and Precepts? So is the Authority of the Magiſtrate in reference unto what he requires. Do men therefore ſin if they neglect the obſervance of the commands of Chriſt in the Worſhip of God, becauſe of his immediate Authority ſo to command them binding their Conſciences? So do men ſin if they omit or neglect to do what the Magiſtrate requires in the Worſhip of God becauſe of his Authority, without any farther reſpect. Hath the Lord Chriſt inſtituted two Sacraments in the Worſhip of God, that is *outward viſible ſigns*, or Symbols, *of inward inviſible or ſpiritual Grace?* the Magiſtrate if he pleaſe may inſtitute and appoint twenty under the names of *ſignificant Ceremonies*; that is *outward viſible ſigns of inward ſpiritual grace*, which alone is the ſignificancy contended about. Hath the Magiſtrate this his Authority in and over Religion and the conſciences of men from Jeſus Chriſt? no more then Chriſt hath his Authority from the Magiſtrate; for he holds it by the Law of Nature antecedent to the promiſe and coming of Chriſt? Might Chriſt in his own

own Perſon adminiſter the Holy Things of the Church of God? not in the Church of the *Jews*, for he *ſprang of the Tribe of* Judah, *concerning which nothing was ſpoken as to the Prieſthood*; only he might in that of the Goſpel, but hath judged meet to commit the Actual Adminiſtration of them to others? So is it with the Magiſtrate alſo. Thus far then Chriſt and the Magiſtrate ſeem to ſtand on even or equal terms; But there are two things remaining that abſolutely turn the ſcale and caſt the advantage on the Magiſtrates ſide. For Firſt, Men may do and practiſe many things in the Worſhip of God which the Lord Chriſt hath no where, nor by any means required; yea to think that his Word or the Revelation of his Mind and Will therein, is *the ſole and adequate Rule of Religious Worſhip*, is reported as an Opinion fooliſh, abſurd, impious and deſtructive of all Government. If this be not ſuppoſed not only the whole Deſign of our Author in this Book is defeated, but our whole Controverſie alſo is compoſed and at an end. But on the other hand, no man muſt do or practiſe any thing in that way, but what is preſcribed, appointed and commanded by the *Magiſtrate*, upon pain of Sin, Schiſm, Rebellion and all that follows thereon.

thereon. To leave this unasserted is all that the *Non-Conformists* would desire in order unto peace. Comprehension and Indulgence would ensue thereon. Here I think the *Ma*gistrate hath the advantage. But that which follows will make it yet more evident; for Secondly, Suppose the *Ma*gistrate require any thing to be done and observed in the Worship of God, and the Lord Christ require the quite contrary in a mans own apprehension, so that he is as well satisfied in his apprehension of his mind as he can be of any thing that is proposed to his faith and Conscience in the Word of God; in this case he is to obey *Ma*gistrate, and not Christ, as far as I can learn; unless all Confusion and Disorder be admitted an entrance into the world. Yea, but this seems directly contrary to that Rule of the Apostles, which hath such an evidence and power of rational conviction attending it, that they refer it to the judgement of their Adversaries, and those persons of as perverse corrupt minds and prejudicate engagements against them and their cause, as ever lived in the world; namely, *Whether it be meet to obey God or man, judge ye.* But we are told, that *this holds only in greater matters*; the *Logick* (by the way) of which distinction, is as strange as its

Divinity,

Divinity. For if the formal Reaſon of the difference intimated, ariſe from the compariſon between the Authority of God and man, it holds equally as to all things ſmall or great that they may be oppoſitely concerned in. Beſides who ſhall judge what is ſmall, or what is great in things of this Nature? *Cave ne titubes*. Grant but the leaſt judgement to private men themſelves in this matter, and the whole Fabrick tumbles; If the *Magiſtrate* be Judge of what is great and of what is little, we are ſtill where we were without hopes of delivery. And this to me is a notable inſtance of the preheminence of the *Magiſtrate* above Chriſt in this matter. Some of the *Old Iriſh* have a Proverbial Speech amongſt them, *That if Chriſt had not been Chriſt when he was Chriſt*, Patrick *had been Chriſt*; but it ſeems now that takeing it for granted that he was Chriſt, yet we have another that is ſo alſo; that is Lord over the Souls and Conſciences of men; and what can be ſaid more of him, *who ſits in the Temple of God, and ſhews himſelf to be God*.

As we formerly ſaid *Non-Conformiſts* who are unacquainted with the *Myſteries* of things of this Nature, muſt needs deſire to know whether theſe be the avowed Principles

Principles of the Church of *England*, or whether they are only Inventions to ſerve a preſent Turn of the purſuit of ſome mens deſigns. Are all the old Pleas of the *Jus Divinum of Epiſcopacy*, of *Example* and *Direction Apoſtolical*, of a *Parity of reaſon between the Condition of the Church whilſt under extraordinary Officers, and whilſt under ordinary; of the power of the Church to appoint Ceremonies for Decency and Order, of the Conſiſtency of Chriſtian Liberty with the neceſſary practice of indifferent things, of the pattern of the Churches of old*, which (whether duly or otherwiſe we do not now determine) have been inſiſted on in this cauſe, ſwallowed all up in this Abyſſe of *Magiſtratical* Omnipotency, which plainly renders them uſeleſs and unprofitable? How unhappy hath it been that the Chriſtian World was not ſooner bleſſed with this great Diſcovery of the only way and means of putting a final end, unto all Religious conteſts? That he ſhould not until now appear,

Qui genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, & omnes
Præſtrinxit ſtellas, exortus ut æthereus ſol.

But every Age produceth not a *Columbus*.

Many

Many indeed have been the Diſputes of Learned men about the power of *Magiſtrates* in and concerning Religion. With us it is ſtated in the recorded Actings of our Soveraign Princes, in the Oath of Supremacy, and the Acts of Parliament concerning it, with other Authentick Writings explanatory thereof. Some have denyed him any concern herein; our Author is none of them? but rather like the *Phrenetick Gentleman* who when he was accuſed in former dayes, for denying the *Corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament*: replyed in his own defence, that he *believed him to be preſent booted and ſpurred as he rode to Capernaum.* He hath brought him in booted and ſpurred, yea armed *cap-a-pie* into the Church of God, and given all power into his hands to diſpoſe of the Worſhip of God according to his own will and pleaſure. And that not with reſpect unto outward Order only, but with direct obligation upon the Conſciences of men.

But doubtleſs it is the Wiſdom of Soveraign Princes to beware of this ſort of Enemies; Perſons who to promote their own Intereſt make Aſcriptions of ſuch things unto them, as they cannot accept of, without the utmoſt hazzard of the

diſpleaſure

displeasure of God. Is it meet that to satisfie the desires of any, they should invade the Prerogative of God, or set themselves down at his right Hand in the Throne of his only begotten Son? I confess they are no way concerned in what others for their advantage sake, as they suppose, will ascribe unto them, which they may sufficiently disown by scorn and silence. Nor can their sin involve them in any guilt. It was not the vain Acclamation of the multitude unto *Herod*, *the voice of God and not of man*, but his own arrogant satisfaction in that *blasphemous Assignation* of divine glory to him, that exposed him to the judgements and vengeance of God. When the Princes of *Israel* found by the Answer of the *Reubenites* that they had not transgressed against the Law of Gods Worship, in adding unto it or altering of it, which they knew would have been a provocation not to have been passed over without a recompence of Revenge; They replyed unto them, *Now have you delivered the Children of* Israel *out of the hand of the Lord*; and it is to be desired that all the *Princes of the* Israel *of God* in the world, all Christian Potentates, would diligently watch against giving admission unto any such Insinuations,

tions, as would deliver them *into the hand of the Lord.*

For my own part, ſuch is my Ignorance, that I know not, that any *Magiſtrate* from the foundation of the world, unleſs it were *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cains Caligula*, *Domitian* and Perſons like to them, ever claimed or pretended to exerciſe the power here aſſigned unto them. The Inſtances of the Laws and Edicts of *Conſtantine* in the matters of Religion and the Worſhip of God, of *Theodoſius* and *Gratian*, *Arcadius*, *Martian* and other Emperours of the *Eaſt* remaining in the *Code* and *Novels*; the *Capitular* of the *Weſtern* Emperours, and Laws of *Gothiſh* Kings, the Right of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction inherent in the Imperial Crown of this Nation, and occaſionally exerciſed in all Ages are of no concernment in this matter. For no man denyes but that it is the duty of the Supream *Magiſtrate* to protect and further the true Religion, and right Worſhip of God, by all wayes and means ſuited and appointed of God thereunto. To encourage the Profeſſors thereof, to protect them from wrong and violence, to ſecure them in the performance of their duties, is doubtleſs incumbent on them. Whatever under pretence of Religion brings actual

actual disturbance unto the peace of mankind, they may coerce and restrain. When Religion as established in any Nation by Law, doth or may interest the Professors of it, or Guides in it, in any Priviledges, Advantages, or Secular Emoluments, which are subject and lyable, as all humane concerns, to doubts, controversies, and litigious contests in their security and disposal, all these things depend meerly and solely on the power of the *Magistrate*, by whose Authority they are originally granted, and by whose Jurisdictive Power both the Persons vested with them, and themselves are disposable. But for an Absolute Power *over the Consciences of men* to bind or oblige them formally thereby, to do whatever they shall require in the Worship of God, so as to make it their sin deserving eternal damnation not so to do, without any consideration whether the things are true or false, according to the mind of God or otherwise, yea though they are apprehended by them who are so obliged to practise them, to be contrary to the Will of God, that this hath hitherto been claimed by any *Magistrate*, unless such as those before mentioned, I am yet to seek. And the case is the same with respect unto them; who are not satisfied

that

that what is ſo preſcribed unto them will be accepted with God. For whereas in all that men do in the Worſhip of God, they ought to be fully perſwaded of its acceptableneſs to God in their own minds, ſeeing *whatever is not of faith is ſin*, he *that doubteth* is in a very little better Capacity to ſerve God on ſuch injunctions, then he who apprehendeth them to be directly contrary to his mind.

If an Edict were drawn up for the ſettlement of Religion and Religious Worſhip in any Chriſtian Nation, according to the Principles and Directions before laid down, it may be there would be no great ſtrife in the world by whom it ſhould be firſt owned and eſpouſed. For it muſt be of this Importance.

Whereas We have an Univerſal and Abſolute Power over the Conſciences of all our Subjects in things appertaining to the Worſhip of God; ſo that if We pleaſe We can introduce new duties, (never yet heard of,) in the moſt important parts of Religion (pag. 80.) *and may impoſe on them in the practice of Religion and Divine Worſhip what We pleaſe; ſo that in our Judgement it doth not countenance Vice, nor diſgrace the Deity,* (Pag. 85.) *and whereas this Power is naturally inherent in us, not given or granted unto us by Jeſus*

Christ, but belonged to us, or our Predecessors before ever he was born, nor is expressed in the Scripture, but rather supposed; and this being such as that We our selves if We would, (whether We be Man or Woman) (here *France* must be excepted by vertue of the *Salique* Law, though the whole project be principally calculated for that Meridian) *might exercise the special Offices and Duties of Religion in Our own Person, especially that of the Priesthood, though we are pleased to transfer the Exercise of it unto others; and whereas all our Prescriptions, Impositions, and Injunctions, in these things, do immediately affect and bind the Consciences of our Subjects because they are Ours, whether they be right or wrong, true or false, so long as in our judgement they neither* (as was said) *countenance Vice nor disgrace the Deity, We do Enact and Ordain as followeth.*

(Here, if you please, you may interfert the *Scheme* of Religion given us by our Author in his second Chapter, and add unto it; that because *Sacrifices were a way found out by honest men of old, to express their gratitude unto God thereby, so great and necessary a part of our Religious duty*; it be enjoyned that the *use of them be again revived; seeing there is nothing in them that offends against the bounds prescribed to the power to be expressed,*

preſſed; and that men in all places do offer up Bulls and Goats, Sheep, and Fowls, to God, with as many other Inſtitutions of the like Nature, as ſhall be thought meet;) Hereunto add,

Now our expreſs Will and Pleaſure is, that every man may, and do think and judge what he pleaſeth concerning the things enjoyned and enacted by Us; for what have We to do with their thoughts and judgements? they are under the Empire and Dominion of Conſcience, which We cannot invade if We would; they may if they pleaſe judge them inconvenient, fooliſh, abſurd, yea contrary to the Mind, Will, and Law of God: Our only Intention, Will and Pleaſure is, to bind them to the conſtant Obſervation and Practice of them, and that under the Penalties of Hanging and Damnation.

I know not any Expreſſion in ſuch an Impious and futilous *Edict*, that may not be warranted out of the Principles of this Diſcourſe; the main parts of it being compoſed out of the Words and Phraſes of it, and thoſe uſed, to the beſt of my underſtanding, in the ſenſe fixed to them by our Author.

Now, as was ſaid before, I ſuppoſe Chriſtian Princes will not be earneſt in their Conteſts, who ſhall firſt own the Authority intimated, and expreſs it in a ſuitable

exerciſe. And if any one of them ſhould put forth his hand unto it, he will find that

—Furiarum Maxima juxta
Accubat, & manibus prohibet contingere menſas.

There is one who layes an Antecedent Claim to a Sole Intereſt in this Power, and that bottomed on other manner of Pretenſions than any as yet have been pleaded in their behalf. For the Power and Authority here aſcribed unto Princes, is none other but that which is claimed by the *Pope of Rome*, (with ſome few Enlargements) and appropriated unto him by his *Canoniſts* and Courtiers. Only here the *old Gentleman*, (as he is called by our Author) hath the advantage; that beſide the Precedency of his claim, it being entred on Record at leaſt ſix or ſeven hundred years before any *Proctor* or *Advocate* appeared in the behalf of Princes, he hath foreſtall'd them all in the pretence of *Infallibility*; which doubtleſs is a matter of ſingular uſe in the exerciſe of the power contended about. For ſome men are ſo *peeviſh* as to think that thus to deal with Religion and the Conſciences of men, belongs

longs to none but him, who is Abſolutely, yea *eſſentially* ſo, that is Infallible. For as we have now often ſaid (as contrary to their deſign men in haſte oftentimes ſpeak the ſame things over and over) as to all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over perſons and cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and the Soveraign diſpoſal of all the Civil and Political concernments of Religion which is veſted in the Imperial Crown of this Nation, and by ſundry *Acts of Parliament* is declared ſo to be, I ſhall be alwayes ready to plead the Right of our Kings, and all Chriſtian Kings whatever, againſt the abſurd Pleas and Pretences of the Pope; ſo as to this Controverſie between him and ſuch Princes as ſhall think meet to contend with him about it, concerning the power over the Conſciences of men before deſcribed, I ſhall not interpoſe my ſelf in the ſcuffle; as being fully ſatisfied they are contending about that which belongs to neither of them.

But what Reaſon is there, why this Power ſhould not be extended unto the *inward thoughts and apprehenſions of men* about the Worſhip of God, as well as to the expreſſion of them in pure Spiritual Acts of that Worſhip. The Power aſſerted I preſume will be acknowledged to be from

God; though I can ſcarce meet with the Communication and derivation of it from him in this Diſcourſe. But whereas, it is granted on all hands, that the *Powers that be are of God*, and that none can have Authority over an other, unleſs it be originally given him from above; I deſire to be informed why the other part of the Power mentioned, namely *over the Thoughts, Judgements, and Apprehenſions of men*, in the things of the Worſhip of God, ſhould not be inveſted in the Magiſtrate alſo; that ſo he having declared what is to be believed, thought, and judged in ſuch things, all men ſhould be obliged ſo to believe, think, and judge; for this power God can give; and hath given it unto Jeſus Chriſt. I preſume, it will be ſaid, that this was no way needful for the preſervation of Peace in Humane Society, which is the end for which all this Power is veſted in the Magiſtrate. For let men believe, think, and judge what they pleaſe, ſo long as their outward Actings are, or may be over-ruled, there is no danger of any publick diſturbance. But this ſeems to be a mighty uneaſie condition for mankind; namely to live continually in a contradiction between their Judgements and their Practices, which in this caſe is allowed to be incident unto

to them. Constantly to judge one way best and most according to the mind of God in his Worship, and constantly to practise another, will, it is to be feared, prove like the conflicting of vehement vapours with their contrary qualities, that at one time or other will produce an Earthquake. How then if men weary of this perplexing distorting condition of things in their minds, should be provoked to run to excesses and inordinate courses for their freedom and Rest, such as our Author excellently displayes in all their hideous colours and appearances, and which are really pernicious to Humane Policy and Society? Were it not much better that all these inconveniencies had been prevented in the *first Instance*, by taking care that the Faith, Thoughts, Perswasions, and Judgements of all Subjects about the things of God, should be absolutely bound up unto the declared conceptions of their Rulers in these matters? Let it not be pretended, that this is impossible, and contrary to the natural liberty of the minds of men, as rational creatures guiding and determining themselves according to their own reason of things and understandings. For do but fix the declared Will of the Ruler, in the room and place of Divine

Revelation, (which is no hard matter to do, which ſome actually do univerſally, and our Author as to a great ſhare and proportion) and the obligation ſought after to prevent all Inconvencies in Government, falls as full and directly upon the minds, thoughts, and judgements of men, as upon any of their outward Actions. And this, for the ſubſtance of it, is now pleaded for; ſeeing it is pretended that in all things dubious, where men cannot ſatisfie themſelves that it is the Will of God that they ſhould do a thing, or no, the Declaration of the Magiſtrate determines not only their Practice, but their Judgement alſo, and gives them that *full perſwaſion* of their minds which is indiſpenſably required unto their acting in ſuch things; and that *faith* which frees them from ſin; *For he that doubteth, is damned if he eat.*

But it will be ſaid, that there will be no need hereof; For let men think and judge what they pleaſe, whilſt they are convinced and ſatisfied that it is their duty not to practiſe any thing outwardly in Religion, but what is preſcribed by their Rulers, it is not poſſible that any publick evil ſhould enſue upon their mental conceptions only. We obſerved before that the

the condition described is exceedingly uneasie; which I suppose will not be denyed by men who have seriously considered, what it is either to judge or practise any thing that lyes before them with reference unto the judgment of God. And that which should tye men up to rest perpetually in such a restless state, is as it seems a meer conviction of their duty. They ought to be, and are supposed to be convinced that it is their duty to maintain the liberty of their minds and judgements, but to submit in their outward practice universally to the Laws of men that are over them. And this sense and conviction of duty, is a sufficient security unto publick tranquility, in all that contrariety and opposition of Sentiments unto Established Religion and Forms of Worship that may be imagined; But if this be so; why will not the same conviction and sense of duty restrain them, who do peaceably exercise the Worship of God according to the Light and Dictates of their Consciences, from any actings whatever that may tend to the disturbance of the Publick Peace? Duty, nakedly considered, is even as such, the greatest obligation on the minds of men; and the great security of others in their Actings ariseth from there[illegible]e more

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it is influenced and advantaged by outward considerations, the less it is assaulted and opposed by things grievous and perplexing in the way of the Discharge of it, the more efficacious will be its operations on the minds of men, and the firmer will be the security unto others that thence ariseth. Now these Advantages lye absolutely on the part of them who practise, or are allowed so to do, according to their own Light and Perswasion in the Worship of God, wherein they are at rest and full satisfaction of mind; and not on theirs who all their dayes are bound up to a perverse distorted posture of mind and soul, in judging one thing to be best and most pleasing unto God, and practising of the contrary. Such an one, is the man that of all others, Rulers have need I think to be most jealous of. For what security can be had of him, who hath inured himself unto a continual contradiction between his Faith and his practice? For my part I should either expect no *other measure* from him in any other thing, nor ever judge that his profession and wayes of Actings are any sufficient Indications of his mind, (which takes away all security from mankind) or fear that his Convictions of Light and Knowledge, (as he apprehends) would

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at one time or other precipitate him into attempts of Irregularity and violence for his own relief.

——*Hic niger eſt, hunc tu Romane caveto.*

It will be ſaid, perhaps, that we need not look farther for the Diſturbance of publick peace, from them who practiſe outwardly any thing in the Worſhip of God but what is preſcribed, eſtabliſhed, and enjoyned; ſeeing that every ſuch practice is ſuch a diſturbance it ſelf. I ſay this pretence is miſerably ridiculous and contemptible, and contrary to the common experience of mankind. If this were ſo, the whole World for 300 years, lived in one continual diſturbance and tumult upon the account of Chriſtian Religion, whoſe Profeſſors conſtantly practiſed and performed that in the Worſhip of God, which was ſo far from being eſtabliſhed or approved by Publick Authority, that it was proſcribed and condemned under penalties of all ſorts, pecuniary, corporal, and ſanguinary or capital. But we ſee no ſuch matter enſued, nor the leaſt diſquietment unto the World, but what was given unto it by the rage of bloody perſecutors, that introduced the firſt Convulſions into the *Roman Empire*, which were never

never well quieted, but ended in its diſſolution. The experience alſo of the preſent and next preceding Ages, caſts this frivolous exception out of conſideration. And as ſuch a practice, even againſt Legal Prohibitions, though it be by the tranſgreſſion of a penal Law, is yet in it ſelf and juſt conſequence remote enough from any diſturbance of Government, (unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe that every Non-obſervance of a *penal Statute* invalidates the Government of a Nation, which were to fix it upon ſuch a Foundation, as will not afford it the ſteddineſs of a Weathercok;) ſo being allowed by way of exemption, it contains no invaſion upon, or intruſion into the rights of others; but being accompanied with the Abridgement of the priviledges of none, or the neglect of any duty required to the good of the Common-Wealth, it is as conſiſtent with, and may be as conducing to publick good and Tranquility, as any order of Religious things in the World, as ſhall be elſewhere demonſtrated.

It remains therefore that the only anſwer to this conſideration is, that men who plead for Indulgence and Liberty of Conſcience in the Worſhip God according to his Word, and the Light which

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He hath given them therein, have indeed no conſcience at all, and ſo are not to be believed as to what they profeſs againſt ſiniſter and evil Practiſes. This Flaile I know no fence againſt, but this only; that they have as good and better grounds to ſuſpect him to have no conſcience at all, who upon unjuſt ſurmiſes ſhall ſo injuriouſly charge them, as finding him in a direct tranſgreſſion of the principal Rules that Conſcience is to be guided and directed by, than he hath to pronounce ſuch a judgement concerning them and their ſincerity in what they profeſs. And whether ſuch mutual cenſures tend not to the utter overthrow of all peace, love, and ſecurity amongſt mankind is eaſie to determine. Certainly it is the worſt game in the World for the Publick, to have men bandying ſuſpicions one againſt another; and thereon managing mutual charges of all that they do ſurmiſe, or what elſe they pleaſe to give the countenance of *ſurmiſe* unto.

I acknowledge the notion inſiſted on, namely, *that whileſt men reſerve to themſelves the freedom and liberty of judging what they pleaſe, or what ſeems good unto them in matters of Religion and the Worſhip of God, they ought to eſteem it their duty to practiſe in all things according to the preſcription*

ſcription of their Rulers, though every way contrary unto, and inconſiſtent with their own judgements and perſwaſions, unleſs it be in things that countenance Vice, or diſgrace the Deity (whereof yet it may be, it will not be thought meet that they themſelves ſhould judge for themſelves and their own practiſe, ſeeing they may extend their conceptions about what doth ſo unto ſuch minute Inſtances as would fruſtrate the whole deſign) is exceedingly accommodated to the corrupt luſts and affections of men, and ſuited to make proviſion for their ſecurity in this world, by an exemption from the indiſpenſable command of profeſſing the truth communicated and known unto them; a ſenſe of the obligation whereof, hath hitherto expoſed innumerable perſons in all Ages to great difficulties, dangers, and ſufferings, yea to death the height and ſumm of all. For whereas men have been perſwaded that *with the heart man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation*; the latter clauſe is in many caſes hereby ſufficiently ſuperſeded; and the troubleſome duty ſeeming to be required in it, is removed out of the way. It will not, it may be, be ſo eaſie to prove that in the Religion

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of the *Mahumetans* there is any thing enjoyned in practiſe, that will directly fall under the limitations aſſigned unto the complyance with the commands of Superiours contended for. And therefore let a man but retain his own apprehenſions concerning Jeſus Chriſt and the Goſpel, it may be lawful for him, yea be his duty to obſerve the worſhip enjoyned by the Law of *Mahomet*, if his lot fall to live under the power of the *Grand Seignior*, or any Soveraign Prince of the ſame perſwaſion. But the caſe is clear in the Religion of the Papiſts, which is under the protection of the greateſt number of ſupream Magiſtrates in *Europe*. It will not be pretended, I ſuppoſe by our Author, that there is any thing in the confeſſion of the Church of *Rome*, or impoſed by it on the practices of men, that directly gives countenance unto any Immorality, eſpecially as the ſenſe of that term is by him ſtated; and it is no eaſie matter for ordinary men to prove and ſatisfie themſelves, that there is ought in their Modes of Worſhip of ſuch a tendency, as to caſt diſgrace upon the Deity; eſpecially conſidering with how much learning and diligence the charge of any ſuch miſcarriage is endeavoured to be antwered and removed; all which pleas ought to be

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ſatisfied, before a man can make ſedately a determinate judgement of the contrary. Let then men's judgements be what they will in the matters of difference between *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, it is on this *Hypotheſis*, the duty of all that live under the Dominion of Soveraign Popiſh Princes, outwardly to comply with and practiſe that Religious Worſhip that is commanded by them and enjoyned. The caſe is the ſame alſo as to the Religion of the Jews. Now as this caſts a Reflection of incredible folly and unexpiable guilt upon all *Proteſtant Martyrs*, in caſting away their own lives, and diſobeying the Commands of their lawful Soveraigns? ſo it expoſeth all the Proteſtants in the World who are ſtill in the ſame condition of ſubjection, to the ſevere cenſures of Impiety and Rebellion; and muſt needs exaſperate their Rulers to purſue them to deſtruction, under pretence of unwarrantable obſtinacy in them. For if we wholly take off the protection of Conſcience in this matter, and its ſubjection to the Authority of God alone, there is no plea left to excuſe diſſenting Proteſtants from the guilt of ſuch crimes, as may make men juſtly cry out againſt them as the *Jews* did againſt St. *Paul*, *Away with them, away with them,*

it is not meet that ſuch Fellows ſhould live; or, *Proteſtantes ad Leones*, according to the old cry of the Pagans againſt the Primitive Chriſtians. But if this ſhould prove to be a way of teaching and juſtifying the groſſeſt *Hypocriſie* and Diſſimulation that the nature of man is capable of, a means to caſt off all regard unto the Authority of God over the wayes and lives of men, all the Rhetorick in the World ſhall never perſwade me that God hath ſo moulded and framed the order and ſtate of humane affairs, that it ſhould be any way needful to the preſervation of publick peace and tranquility. Openneſs, plainneſs of heart, Sincerity in our Actions and Profeſſions, Generous honeſty, and an univerſal reſpect in all things to the ſupream Rector of all, the great Poſſeſſour of Heaven and Earth, with an endeavour to comply with His preſent revealed mind, and future judgement, are far better Foundations for, and ligaments of publick peace and quietneſs. To make this the Foundation of our Political Superſtructure, that *Diviſum Imperium Cum Jove Cæſar habet*, God hath immediate and ſole power over the minds and inward thoughts of men; but the *Magiſtrate* over the Exerciſe of thoſe thoughts in things eſpecially belong-

ing to the Worſhip of God, and in the ſame Inſtances, ſeems not to prognoſticate a ſtable or durable building. The Prophet was not of that mind of old, who in the name of God blamed the people for willingly walking after the Commandment of their Ruler, in concerns of Worſhip not warranted by Divine appointment; nor was *Daniel* ſo, who notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibition made againſt his praying in his houſe, continued to do ſo three times a day.

But beſides all this! I do not ſee how this *Hypotheſis* is neceſſarily ſubſervient to the principal deſign of the Author, but it may be as well improved to quite diſtant, yea contrary ends and purpoſes. His deſign plainly is, to have one Fabrick of Religion erected, one Form of External Worſhip enacted and preſcribed, which all men ſhould be compelled by penalties to the outward profeſſion and obſervance of; theſe penalties he would have to be ſuch as ſhould not fail of their end; namely, of taking away all profeſſed Diſſent from his Religious eſtabliſhment; which if it cannot be effected without the deſtruction and death of multitudes, they alſo are not to be forborn. Now how this enſues from the fore-mentioned Principle I know

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not. For a ſupream *Magiſtrate*, finding that the minds of very many of his Subjects are in their judgements and perſwaſions engaged in a diſſent unto the Religion eſtabliſhed by Him, or ſomewhat in it, or ſome part of it, eſpecially in things of practical worſhip; though he ſhould be perſwaded that he hath ſo far a power over their Conſciences, as to command them to practiſe contrary to their judgement, yet knowing their minds and Perſwaſions to be out of his reach and exempted from his Juriſdiction, why may he not think it meet and conducing to publick tranquillity and all the ends of his government, even the good of the whole Community committed to his charge, rather to indulge them in the quiet and peaceable exerciſe of the Worſhip of God according to their own light, than alwayes to bind them unto that unavoidable diſquietment which will enſue upon the conflict in their minds between their judgements and their practices, if he ſhould oblige them as is deſired. Certainly, as in truth and reality, ſo according to this Principle, he hath power ſo to do. For to fancy him ſuch a power over the Religion and Conſciences of his Subjects, as that he ſhould be inevitably bound on all occurrences and in all

conditions of affairs, to impose upon them the necessary observation of one form of Worship, is that which would quickly expose him to inextricable troubles. And Instances of all sorts might be multiplyed to shew the ridiculous folly of such a Conception. Nay it implies a perfect contradiction to what is disputed before. For if he be obliged to settle and impose such a form on all, it must be because there was a necessity of somewhat antecedent to his imposition, whence his obligation to impose it did arise. And on such a supposition it is in vain to enquire after his Liberty or his power in these things, seeing by his duty he is absolutely determined, and whatever that be which doth so determine him and put an obligation upon him, it doth indispensably do the same on his Subjects also; which as it is known utterly excludes the Authority pleaded for.

This Principle therefore indeed asserts his liberty to do what he judgeth meet in these matters, but contains nothing in it to oblige him to judge, that it may not be meet and most conducing unto all the ends of his Government to indulge unto the Consciences of men peaceable, (especially if complying with him in all the

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Fundamentals of the Religion which himſelf profeſſeth) the liberty of Worſhiping God according to what they apprehend of his own mind and Will. And let an application of this Principle be made to the preſent ſtate of this Nation, wherein there are ſo great multitudes of perſons peaceable and not unuſeful unto publick good, who diſſent from the preſent eſtabliſhment of outward Worſhip, and have it not in their power either to change their judgements or to practiſe contrary unto them; and as it is in the power of the ſupream *Magiſtrate* to indulge them in their own way, ſo it will prove to be his Intereſt as he is the ſpring and center of of publick Peace and Proſperity.

Neither doth it appear that in this diſcourſe our Author hath had any regard either to the real principles of the power of the Magiſtrate as ſtated in this Nation, or to his own which are fictitious; but yet ſuch as ought to be obligatory to himſelf; His principal Aſſertion is, that the *Supream Magiſtrate hath power to bind the Conſciences of men in matters of Religion*, that is by Laws and Edicts to that purpoſe; Now the higheſt and moſt obligatory way of the Supream *Magiſtrates* ſpeaking in *England*, is *by Acts of Parliament*; It is therefore

ſuppoſed that what is ſo declared in or about matters of Religion, ſhould be obligatory to the Conſcience of this Author; but yet quite otherwiſe, *p.* 59. He ſets himſelf to oppoſe and condemn a publick Law of the Land, on no other ground than becauſe it ſtood in his way, and ſeemed incompliant with his principles. For whereas the Law of 2 and 3 *Ed.* 6. which appointed two weekly dayes for Abſtinence from fleſh, had been amongſt other Reaſons Prefaced with this, *That the Kings Subjects having now a more clear Light of the Goſpel through the Infinite mercy of God* (ſuch canting Language was then therein uſed) *and thereby the Kings Majeſty perceiving that one meat of it ſelf was not more holy than another*, &c. *yet conſidering that due Abſtinence, was a means to vertue, and to ſubdue mens bodies to their ſouls and ſpirits*, &c. And it being after found (it ſhould ſeem by a farther degree of Light) that thoſe Expreſſions meeting with the inveterate Opinions of ſome, newly brought out of Popery, had given countenance to them to teach or declare, that ſomething of Religion was placed therein; thereon by the Law made 5 *Eliz.* adding another weekly day to be kept with the former for the ſame purpoſe,

purpoſe, the former clauſe was omitted, and mention only made therein of the Civil and Politique Reaſons inducing the Legiſlators thereunto; and withall a Penalty of inflicting puniſhment on thoſe who *ſhould affirm and maintain that there was any concernment of Conſcience and Religion in that matter.* This proviſion hath ſo diſtaſted our Author, that forgetting it ſeems his own Deſign, he reproaches it with the Title of *Jejunium Cecilianum*; and thinks it ſo far from obliging his Conſcience to acquieſs in the Determination therein made, that he will not allow it to give Law to his tongue or pen; But (*vexet cenſura columbas*) it ſeems they are the Phanaticks only that are thus to be reſtrained.

Moreover on occaſion hereof we might manifeſt how ſome other Laws of this Land do ſeem carefully to avoid that impoſition on Conſcience, which againſt Law and Reaſon he pleadeth for; For Inſtance in that of 21 *Jacob.* touching Uſury, and the Reſtraint of it unto the ſumm therein eſtabliſhed, it was *provided, that no words in this Act conteined ſhall be conſtrued or expounded to allow the practiſe of Uſury in point of Religion and Conſcience.* And why did not the ſupream Magiſtrate in that Law determine

and bind the Conſciences of men, by a declaration of their duty in a point of Religion; ſeeing whether way ſoever the determination had been made, neither would *immorality have been countenanced*, nor the *Deity diſgraced*? But plainly it is rather declared, that he hath not Cognizance of ſuch things with reference to the Conſciences of men to oblige them, or ſet them at liberty, but only power to determine what may be practiſed in order to publick profit and peace. And therefore the Law would neither bind, nor ſet at liberty the Conſciences of men in ſuch caſes, which is a work for the ſupream Law-giver only.

Neither, as it hath been before obſerved, do the Principles here aſſerted and contended for, either expreſs or repreſent the *ſupremacy of the Kings of this Nation in matters Eccleſiaſtical* as it is ſtated and determined by themſelves in Parliament; but rather ſo, as to give great offence and ſcandal to the Religion here profeſſed and advantage to the Adverſaries thereof; for after there appeared ſome ambiguity in thoſe words of the Oath enacted 1 *Eliz.* of *teſtifying the Queen to be ſupream Governour as well in all Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical things or Cauſes, as in Temporal*; and many doubts and

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scruples ensued thereon, as though there were assigned to her a power *over the Consciences of her Subjects in spiritual things*, or that she had a power Her self to order and administer spiritual things; In *quinto Elizab.* it is enacted by way of Explanation, that the Oaths aforesaid shall be expounded in such form as is set forth in the *Admonition* annexed to the Queens Injunctions, published in the first year of Her Reign, where disclaiming the power of the *Ministry* of divine offices in the Church, or the *power of the Priesthood* here by our Author affixed to the supream *Magistrate*, her power and Authority is declared to be *a Soveraignty over all manner of persons born within this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, so that no foraign power hath, or ought to have any superiority over them*; And so is this *supremacy* stated in the Articles *Anno* 1562. namely an *Authocity to Rule all Estates and Degrees committed to the charge of the supream Magistrate by God*, whether they be *Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and to restrain the stubborn or evil-doers.* Of the things contended for by our Author; the *Authority of the Priesthood*, and *power over the Consciences of men in matters of Religion* there is not one word in our Laws, but rather they are both of them rejected and condemned.

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I have yet laid the leaſt part of that Load upon this Principle, which if it be farther preſſed it muſt expect to be burdened withal, and that from the Common Suffrage of Chriſtians in all Ages. But yet that I may not tranſgreſs againſt the deſign of this ſhort and haſty Diſcourſe, I ſhall proceed no farther in the purſuit of it; but take a little *Survey* of what is here pleaded in its defence. Now this is undertaken and purſued in the firſt Chapter, with the two next enſuing, where an end is put to this Plea. For if I underſtand any thing of his words and expreſſions, our Author in the beginning of his fourth Chapter, cuts down all thoſe Gourds and Wild Vines that he had been planting in the three preceding; for he not only grants but diſputes alſo for an obligation on the Conſciences of men *antecedent and ſuperiour* unto all humane Laws and their obligation; his words are as followeth, pag. 115. *It is not becauſe Subjects are in any thing free from the Authority of the Supream Power on earth, but becauſe they are ſubject to a Superiour in Heaven; and they are only then excuſed from the duty of Obedience to their Soveraign when they cannot give it without Rebellion againſt God; So that it is not originally any Right of their own*

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that exempts them from a ſubjection to the Soveraign Power in all things; but it is purely Gods right of Governing his own Creatures that Magiſtrtaes then invade when they make Edicts to violate or controll his Laws; and thoſe who will take off from the Conſciences of men, all obligations antecedent to thoſe of Humane Laws, inſtead of making the Power of Princes, Supream, abſolute, and uncontrollable, they utterly enervate all their Authority, and ſet their Subjects at perfect Liberty from all their Commands.

I know no men that pretend to Exemption from the Obligation of Humane Laws, but only on this Plea, that God by *his Law* requires them to do otherwiſe; and if this be ſo, the Authority of ſuch Laws as to the Conſciences of men, is ſuperſeded by the confeſſion of this Author. Allow therefore but the Principles here expreſſed, namely, that men have a Superiour Power over them in Heaven, whoſe Laws, and the Revelation of whoſe Will concerning them, is the Supream Rule of their duty, whence an Obligation is laid upon their Conſciences of doing whatever is commanded, or not doing what is forbidden by him, which is ſuperiour unto, and actually ſuperſedes all Humane Commands and Laws that interfere therewith,

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and I ſee neither uſe of, nor place for that Power of Magiſtrates over the Conſciences of men, which is ſo earneſtly contended for. And our Author alſo in his enſuing Diſcourſe in that Chapter, placeth all the ſecurity of Government in the Reſpect that the Conſciences of men have to the Will and Command of God; and which they profeſs to have; which in all *theſe Chapters* he pleads to be a Principle of all Confuſion. But it is the firſt Chapter which alone we are now taking a view of.

The only Argument therein inſiſted on to to make good the Aſcription unto the Magiſtrate of the power over Religion and the Conſciences of men before deſcribed, is *the abſolute and indiſpenſable neceſſity of it, unto publick Tranquility, which is the principal, and moſt important End of Government.* In the purſuit of this Argument, ſometimes yea often, ſuch expreſſions are uſed concerning the Magiſtrates power, as in a tolerable Conſtruction declare it to be what no man denyes nor will contend about. But it is neceſſary that they be interpreted according to the *Genius* and tenor of the Opinion contended for, and accordingly we will conſider them. This alone I ſay is that which is here pleaded, or is given in as the

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ſubject of the enſuing Diſcourſe. But after all, I think that he who ſhall ſet himſelf ſeriouſly to find out how any thing here ſpoken, hath a direct and rational cogency towards the eſtabliſhment of the concluſion before laid down, will find himſelf engaged in no eaſie an undertakeing. We were told I confeſs at the entrance (ſo as that we may not complain of a ſurprizal) that we muſt expect to have *Invectives twiſted with Arguments*, and ſome ſuch thing ſeems here to be aimed at; but if a *Logical Chymiſt* come, and make a ſeparation of the Elements of this Compoſition, he will find, if I miſtake not, an heap of the *droſſy Invective*, and ſcarce the leaſt appearance of any *argument Ore*. Inſtead of ſober rational arguing,

——— *crimina raſis*
Librat in Antithetis; ———

great Aggravations of mens miſcarriages in the purſuit of the Dictates of their Conſciences, either real or feigned, edged againſt, and fiercely reflected upon thoſe whom he makes his Adverſaries, and theſe the ſame for ſubſtance, repeated over and over in a great variety of well placed words, take up the greateſt part of his

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Plea in this Chapter; eſpecially the beginning of it, wherein alone the Controverſie as by himſelf ſtated is concerned.

But if the Power and Authority over Religion and the Conſciences of men here aſcribed unto Supream Magiſtrates, be ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the preſervation of publick Tranquility, as is pretended, a man cannot but wonder how the world hath been in any Age paſt, kept in any tolerable peace and quietneſs; and how it is any where bleſſed with thoſe ends of Government at this day. For it will not be an eaſie task for our Author, or any one elſe to demonſtrate that the Power mentioned, hath ever been either claimed or exerciſed by any Supream Magiſtrate in *Chriſtendom*, or that it is ſo at this day. The Experience of paſt and preſent Ages, is therefore abundantly ſufficient to defeat this pretence, which is ſufficiently aſſerted, without the leaſt appearance of proof or Argument to give it countenance or confirmation; or they muſt be very charitable to him, or ignorant in themſelves, who will miſtake Invectives for Arguments. The remembrance indeed of theſe Severities I would willingly lay aſide; eſpecially becauſe the very mention of them ſeems to expreſs an higher ſenſe of

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and regret concerning them, then I am in the leaſt ſubject unto, or ſomething that looks like a deſign of Retaliation; but as theſe things are far from my mind, ſo the continual returns that almoſt in every Page I meet with, of high and contemptuous Reproaches, will not allow that they be alwayes paſſed by without any notice or remark.

It is indeed indiſpenſably neceſſary that publick Peace and Tranquility be preſerved; but that there is any thing in point of Government neceſſary hereunto, but that God have all ſpiritual power over the Conſciences of men, and Rulers Political power over their Actings wherein publick Peace and Tranquility are concerned, the World hath not hitherto eſteemed, nor do I expect to find it proved by this Author. If theſe things will not preſerve the publick peace, it will not be kept if one ſhould riſe from the dead to perſwade men unto their duty. The Power of God over the Conſciences of men, I ſuppoſe is acknowledged by all who own any ſuch thing as Conſcience, or believe there is a God over all. That alſo in the exerciſe of this Authority, he requires of men all that obedience unto Rulers that is any way needfull or

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expedient unto the preſervation of the ends of their Rule, is a Truth ſtanding firm on the ſame Foundation of Univerſal conſent, derived from the Law of Creation; and his poſitive Commands to that purpoſe, have an evidence of his Will in this matter not liable to exception or controll. This Conſcience unto God our Author confeſſeth (as we have obſerved, in his fourth Chapter, to be the great preſervation and ſecurity of Goverment and Governours, with reſpect unto the ends mentioned. And if ſo, what becomes of all the pretences of diſorder and confuſion that will enſue, unleſs this power over mens Conſciences be given to the *Magiſtrate* and taken as it were out of the hands of God? Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that men will be more true to their Conſciences ſuppoſing the Reiglement of them in the hand of men, than when they are granted to be in the hand and power of God; for both at preſent are ſuppoſed to require the ſame things. Certainly where Conſcience reſpects Authority, as it always doth, the more Abſolute and Soveraign it apprehends the Authority by which it is obliged, the greater and more firm will be the impreſſions of the obligation upon it. And in that Capacity of preheminence, it

muſt look upon the Authority of God compared with the Authority of man. Here then lyes the ſecurity of publick peace and tranquility, as it is backed by the Authority of the Magiſtrate, to ſee that all outward Actions are ſuitable unto what Conſcience toward God doth in this matter openly and unqueſtionably require.

The pretence indeed is that the placing of this Authority over the Conſciences of men in the Supream Ruler, doth obviate and take away all grounds and occaſions of any ſuch Actings on the Account of Religion, as may tend unto publick diſturbance. For ſuppoſe Conſcience in things concerning Religion and the Worſhip of God ſubject to God alone, and the Magiſtrate require ſuch things to be obſerved in the one or the other as God hath not required, at leaſt in the Judgements and Conſciences of them of whom the things preſcribed are required, and to forbid the things that God requires to be obſerved and done; in this caſe it is ſaid they cannot or will not comply in Active Obedience with the Commands of the Magiſtrate. But what if it ſo fall out? Doth it thence follow that ſuch perſons muſt needs Rebell and be Seditious and diſturb

the publick peace, of the Society whereof they are Members? Wherefore is it that they do not do or obſerve what is required of them by the Magiſtrate in Religion or the Worſhip of God, or that they do what he forbids? Is it not becauſe of the Authority of God over their minds and Conſciences in theſe things? And why ſhould it be ſuppoſed that men will anſwer the Obligations laid by God on their Conſciences in one thing, and not in another; in the things of his Worſhip and not of obedience unto Civil Power, concerning which his Commands are as expreſs and evident, as they can be pretended to be in the things which they avow their obligation unto.

Experience is pretended to the contrary. It is ſaid again and again, that *men under pretence of their Conſciences unto God in Religion, have raiſed Wars and Tumults, and brought all things into confuſion, in this Kingdom* and Nation eſpecially; and what will words avail againſt the evidence of ſo open an experience to the contrary? But what if this alſo ſhould prove a falſe and futilous pretence? Fierce and long Wars have been in this Nation of old, upon the various Titles of perſons pleading their Right unto Supream Government in the Kingdom, againſt

againſt one another; ſo alſo have there been about the Civil Rights and the Priviledges of the Subjects, in the Confuſions commonly called the *Barons Wars*. The late Troubles, Diſorders, and Wars amongſt us muſt bear the weight of this whole charge. But if any one will take the pains to review the publick Writings, Declarations, Treaties whereby thoſe Tumults and Wars were begun and carried on, he will eaſily diſcern that Liberty of Conſcience in practice, or the exemption of it from the power of the *Magiſtrate* as to the Rule and Conduct of it now aſcribed unto him, in the latitude by ſober perſons defended or pleaded for, had neither place in, nor influence into the Beginnings of thoſe troubles. And when ſuch confuſions are begun, no man can give aſſurance or conjecture where they ſhall end.

Authority, Laws, Priviledges, and I know not what things wherein private men of whom alone we treat, have no pretence of Intereſt, were pleaded in thoſe Affairs. He that would judge aright of theſe things, muſt ſet aſide all other Conſiderations, and give his inſtance of the Tumults and Seditions that have enſued on the account of mens keeping their Conſciences entire for God alone, without any

juſt Plea, or falſe pretence of Authority, and the intereſt of men in the Civil concerns of Nations.

However it cannot be pretended that *Liberty of Conſcience* gave the leaſt occaſion unto any diſorders in thoſe dayes. For indeed there was none, but only that of Opinion and Judgement, which our Author placeth out of the *Magiſtrates* cognizance and diſpoſe; and ſuppoſeth it is as a thing wherein the publick peace neither is nor can be concerned. It is well if it prove ſo; but this Liberty of Judgement conſtantly preſt with a practice contrary to its own determinations, will I fear prove the moſt dangerous poſture of the minds of men in reference to publick tranquillity, that they can be well diſpoſed into. However we may take a little nearer view of the certain Remedy provided for all theſe evils by our Author, and ſatisfie ourſelves in ſome Enquiries about it. Shall then according to this Expedient the Supream *Magiſtrate* govern, rule, and oblige unto obedience the conſciences of his Subjects univerſally in all things in Religion and the Worſhip of God, ſo that appoint what he pleaſe, forbid what he pleaſe, Subjects are bound in Concience to obſerve them

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and yield obedience accordingly? His answer as far as I can gather his meaning is, that he may and must do so in all things, taking care that what he commands shall neither *countenance Vice*, *nor disgrace the Deity*, and then the Subjects are obliged according to the Enquiry. But yet there seems another limitation to be given to this power *p.* 37. where he affirms, that the *Lord Christ hath given severe Injunctions to secure the obedience of men to all lawful Superiours, except where they run directly cross to the interest of the Gospel*; and elsewhere he seems to give the same priviledge of Exemption, where a *Religion is introduced that is Idolatrous or Superstitious*. I would then a little farther enquire, who shall judge whether the things commanded in Religion and the Worship of God be *Idolatrous or Superstitious?* Whether they *cross directly the Interest of the Gospel?* Whether they countenance Vice, and disgrace the Deity, or no. To say that the *Magistrate* is to judge and determine hereof, is the highest foppery imaginable. For no *Magistrate*, unless he be distracted, will enjoyn such a Religion to observance, as he judgeth himself to fall under the qualifications mentioned; and when he hath done declare that so they do, and yet require

obedience unto them. Besides, if this Judgement be solely committed unto him, indeed in the issue there neither is, nor can be any Question for a Judgement to be passed upon in this matter. For his Injunction doth quite render useless all disquisitions to that purpose. The judgement and determination hereof therefore is necessary to be left unto the *Subjects*, from whom obedience is required. So it lyes in the letter of the Proposal, *they must obey in all things but such*; and therefore surely must judge what is such and what is not. Now who shall fix bounds to what they will judge to fall under one or other of these limitations? if they determine according to the best light they have that the Religious Observances enjoyned by the *Magistrate* do *directly cross the Interest of the Gospel*, they are absolved by our Author from any obligation in Conscience to their observation. And so we are just as before; and this great Engine for publick Tranquility vanisheth into Air and Smoak.

Thus this Author himself in way of objection supposeth a case of a *Magistrate* enjoyning, as was said, *a Religion Superstitious and Idolatrous*; this he acknowledgeth to be an Inconvenience; yet such as

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is far beneath the Miſchiefs that enſue upon the Exemption of the Conſciences of men in Religion from the power of the the *Magiſtrate*, which I confeſs I cannot but admire at, and can give Reaſons why I do ſo admire it; which alſo may be given in due ſeaſon. But what then is to be done in this Caſe? he anſwers, *It is to be born*: True, but how? Is it to be ſo born as to practiſe and obſerve the things ſo enjoyned though Superſtitious and Idolatrous? though his words are dubious, yet I ſuppoſe he will not plainly ſay ſo; nor can he unleſs he will teach men to caſt off all reſpect unto the Authority of God, and open ſuch a door to Atheiſm, as his rhetorical Prefatory Invective will not be able to ſhut. The *bearing* then intended muſt be by *patient ſuffering* in a refuſal to practiſe what is ſo commanded, and obſerving the contrary Commands of God. But why in this Caſe ought they to ſuffer quietly for refuſing a compliance with what is commanded, and for their obſervance of the contrary Precepts of the Goſpel? Why, they muſt do ſo becauſe of the command of God, obliging their Conſciences unto Obedience to the *Magiſtrate* in all things wherein the publick peace is concerned, and ſo that is abſolutely ſecured.

Is it not evident to him that hath but half an eye that we are come about again where we were before? Let this be applyed to all the concernments of Religion and Religious Worſhip, and there will ariſe with reſpect unto them, the ſame ſecurity which in this caſe is deemed ſufficient, and all that Humane Affairs are capable of. For if in greater matters men may refuſe to act according to the *Magiſtrates* Command, out of a ſenſe of the Authority of God obliging them to the contrary, and yet their Civil Peaceableneſs and Obedience be abſolutely ſecured from the reſpect of their Conſciences to the Command of God requiring it; why ſhould it not be admitted that they may and will have the ſame reſpect to that Command, when they diſſent from the *Magiſtrates* Conſtitution in leſſer things, on the ſame account of the Authority of God requiring the contrary of them? Shall we ſuppoſe that they will caſt off the Authority of God requiring their Obedience, on the account of their diſſatisfaction in leſſer things of the *Magiſtrates* appointment, when they will not do ſo for all the violences that may be offered unto them in things of greater and higher importance? The Principle therefore aſ-

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ſerted is as uſeleſs as it is falſe, and partakes ſufficiently of both thoſe properties to render it inconſiderable and contemptible. And he that can reconcile theſe things among themſelves, or make them uſeful to the Authors deſign, will atchieve what I dare not aſpire unto.

I know not any thing that remains in this *firſt Chapter* deſerving our farther conſideration; What ſeems to be of real importance, or to have any aſpect towards the cauſe in hand, may undergoe ſome brief Remarques, and ſo leave us at liberty to a farther progreſs. In general a ſuppoſition is laid down, and it is ſo vehemently aſſerted as is evident that it is accompanied with a deſire that it ſhould be taken for granted; namely, that if the Conſciences of men be not regulated in the choice and practice of Religion by the Authority of the *Magiſtrate* over them, they will undoubtedly run into Principles and practices inconſiſtent with the ſafety of Humane Society, and ſuch as will lead them to Seditions and Tumults; And hence, (if I underſtand him, a matter I am continually jealous about from the looſneſs of his expreſſions, though I am ſatisfied I conſtantly take his words in the words in the ſenſe which is received of them by moſt intel-

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ligent persons) he educeth all his reasonings, and not from a meer dissent from the Magistrates Injuctions, without the entertainment of such Principles, or an engagement into such practices. I cannot I say, find the Arguments that arise from a meer supposition that men in some things relating to the worship of God, will or do practise otherwise than the Magistrate commands, which are used to prove the inconsistency of such a posture of things with publick Tranquility, which yet alone was the Province our Author ought to have managed. But there is another supposition added, that where Conscience is in any thing left unto its own liberty to choose or refuse in the Worship of God, there it will embrace, sure enough, such wicked debauched and seditious principles, as shall dispose men unto commotions, rebellions, and all such evils as will actually evert all rule, order and policy amongst men. But now this supposition will not be granted him, in reference unto them who profess to take up all their Profession of Religion from the command of God, or the Revelation of his Will in the Scripture, wherein all such Principles and Practices as those mentioned are utterly condemned; and the whole Profession of Christi-

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anity being left for 300 years without the Rule, Guidance, and conduct of Conſcience now contended for, did not once give the leaſt diſturbance unto the Civil Governments of the World. Diſturbances indeed there were, and dreadful Revolutions of Government in thoſe dayes and places, when and where the Profeſſors of it lived; but no concerns of Religion being then involved in or with the Civil Rights and Intereſts of men, as the Profeſſors of it had no Engagements in them, ſo from thoſe Alterations and Troubles no reflection could be made on their profeſſion. And the like Peace, the like Innocency of Religion, the like freedom from all poſſibility of ſuch imputations as are now caſt upon it, occaſioned meerly by its intertexture with the Affairs, Rights, and Laws of the Nations, and the Intereſts of its profeſſours as ſuch therein, will enſue, when it ſhall be ſeparated from that Relation wherein it ſtands to this world, and left as the pure naked tendency of the ſouls of men to another, and not before.

But what, ſayes our Author, *If for the preſent the minds of men happen to be tainted with ſuch furious and boyſterous conceptions of Religion as incline them to ſtubbornneſs and ſedition,*

ſedition, and make them unmanageable to the laws of Government, ſhall not a Prince be allowed to give check to ſuch unruly and dangerous perſwaſions ? I anſwer ; That ſuch Principles which being profeſſed and avowed, are in their own Nature and juſt Conſequence deſtructive to publick peace and humane Society, are all of them directly oppoſite to the Light of humane nature, that common Reaſon and conſent of Mankind wherein and whereon all Government is founded, with the prime Fundamental Laws and dictates of the Scripture, and ſo may and ought to be reſtrained in the practiſes of the perſons that profeſs them ; and with reference unto them the *Magiſtrate beareth not the ſword in Vain---* For humane Society being inſeparably conſequent unto, and and an effect of the Law of our Nature, or concreated principles of it, which hath ſubdued the whole race of Mankind in all times and places unto its obſervance, Opinions, perſwaſions, principles, oppoſite unto it or deſtructive of it, manifeſting themſelves by any ſufficient evidence, or in overt Acts, ought to be no more allowed than ſuch as profeſs an Enmity to the Being and Providence of God himſelf. For mens *Inclinations* indeed, as in themſelves conſidered, there is no competent

petent Judge of them amongſt the Sons of men; but as to all outward Actions that are of the tendency deſcribed, they are under publick Inſpection to be dealt with-all according to their Demerit.

I ſhall only add that the *Mormo* here made uſe of, is not now firſt compoſed or erected; it hath for the ſubſtance of it been flouriſhed by the *Papiſts* ever ſince the beginning of the Reformation. Neither did they uſe to pleaſe themſelves more in, or to *dance* more merrily about any thing than *this Calf*; Let private men have their Conſciences exempted from a neceſſary obedience to the Preſcriptions of the Church, and they will quickly run into all pernicious fancies and perſwaſions. It is known how this Scare-crow hath been caſt to the ground, and this *Calf* ſtamped to powder by Divines of the Church of *England*. It is no pleaſant thing I confeſs to ſee this plea revived now with reſpect to the *Magiſtrates* Authority, and not the Popes; for I fear that when it ſhall be manifeſted, and that by the conſent of all parties, that there is no pleadable Argument to botom this pretenſion for the power of the *Magiſtrate* upon, ſome rather then forego it, will not be unwilling to recur to the fountain from whence it firſt ſprang,

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and admit the Popes plea as meet to be revived in this case. And indeed if we must come at length for the security of publick peace, to deprive all private persons of the Liberty of judging what is Right and Wrong in Religion in reference to their own practice, or what is their duty towards God about his Worship and what is not, there are innumerable advantages attending the design of devolving the absolute determination of these things upon the Pope, above that of committing it to each supream *Magistrate* in his own Dominions. For besides the plea of at least better security in his determinations than in that of any *Magistrates*, if not his Infallibility which he hath so long talked of, and so sturdily defended as to get it a great reputation in the world, the delivering up of the Faith and Consciences of all men unto him, will produce a seeming agreement, at least of incomparably a larger extent, then the remitting of all things of this nature to the pleasure of every supream *Magistrate*, which may probably establish as many different Religions in the World, as there are different Nations Kingdoms or Commonwealths.

That which alone remains seeming to give countenance to the Assertions before laid

laid down, is our Authors aſſignation of the *Prieſthood* by natural Right unto the ſupream Magiſtrate, which in no alteration of Religion he can be deveſted of, but by vertue of ſome poſitive Law of God, as it was for a ſeaſon in the *Moſaical* Inſtitution and Government. But theſe things ſeem to be of no force. For it never belonged to the *Prieſthood*, to govern or to rule the Conſciences of men with an abſolute uncontrollable power; but only *in* their name, and *for* them, to adminiſter the holy things, which by common conſent were admitted, and received amongſt them. Beſides, our Author by his Diſcourſe ſeems not to be much acquainted with the riſe of the office of the Prieſthood amongſt men, as ſhall be demonſtrated, if farther occaſion be given thereunto. However by the way we may obſerve what is his judgement in this matter. The Magiſtrate we are told hath not his *Eccleſiaſtical Authority* from Chriſt; and yet this is ſuch as that the power of the *Prieſthood* is included therein; the exerciſe whereof *as he is pleaſed to transferr to others*, ſo he may, if he *pleaſe*, *reſerve it to himſelf*, p. 32. whence it follows, not only that it cannot be given by Chriſt unto any other, for it is part of the Magiſtrates power, which

which he hath not limited, nor confined by any ſubſequent Law, nor can there be a *Coordinate Subject* of the ſame power of ſeveral kinds; ſo that all the Intereſt or Right any man, or men, have in or unto the exerciſe of it, is but tranſfer'd to them by the Magiſtrate; and therefore they act therein, in his name, and by his Authority only; and hence the Biſhops, as ſuch, are ſaid to be *Miniſters of State*, p. 49. Neither can it be pretended that this was indeed in the power of the Magiſtrate before the coming of Chriſt, but not ſince. For he hath as we are told, all that he ever had, unleſs there be a Reſtraint put upon Him by ſome expreſs prohibition of our Saviour, *p.* 41. which will hardly be found in this matter. I cannot therefore ſee how in the exerciſe of the *Chriſtian Prieſthood* there is (on theſe principles) any the leaſt reſpect unto Jeſus Chriſt, or his Authority; for men have only the *exerciſe of it tranſferred to them* by the Magiſtrate, by vertue of a power inherent in him antecedent unto any conceſſions of Chriſt; and therefore in his name and Authority they muſt act in all the ſacred offices of their Functions. It is well if men be ſo far awake as to conſider the tendency of theſe things.

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At length Scripture proofs for the confirmation of these opinions are produced, p. 35, 36. And the first pleaded, is that promise, that *Kings shall be nursings Fathers unto the Church.* It is true this is promised, and God accomplish it more and more; But yet we do not desire such *Nurses*, as *beget the Children* they nurse; The proposing, prescribing, commanding, binding Religion on the Consciences of men, is rather the *begetting* of it than its *nursing*. To take care of the Church and Religion, that it receive no detriment, by all the wayes and means appointed by God, and useful thereunto, is the duty of Magistrates; but it is so also antecedently to their actings unto this purpose, to discern aright which is the Church whereunto this promise is made, without which they cannot duly discharge their Trust, nor fulfill the Promise it self; The very Words, by the rules of the *Metaphor*, do imply, that the Church, and its Religion, and the worship of God observed therein, is constituted, fixed, and regulated by God himself, antecedently unto the *Magistrates* duty and power about it. They are to Nurse that which is committed to them, and not what Themselves have framed, or begotten. And we contend for no more

but a Rule concerning Religion, and the Worſhip of God antecedent unto the Magiſtrates interpoſing about it, whereby both his Actings in his place, and thoſe of Subjects in theirs, are to be regulated. Miſtakes herein have engaged many Soveraign Princes in purſuit of their Truſt as *Nurſing Fathers* to the Church, to lay out their ſtrength and power for the utter ruine of it; as may be evidenced in inſtances too many of thoſe, who in a ſubſerviency to, and by the direction of the Papal Intereſt, have endeavoured to extirpate true Religion out of the World. Such a *Nurſing Mother* we had ſometimes in *England*, who in purſuit of her care burned ſo many Biſhops and other Holy men to Aſhes.

He aſks farther, *what doth the Scripture mean when it ſtiles our Saviour the King of Kings, and maketh Princes his Vicegerents here on earth?* I confeſs, according to this Gentleman's principles, I know not what it means in ſo doing: Kings, he tells us, have not their Authority in and over Religion, and the Conſciences of men from him, and therefore in the exerciſe of it cannot be his *Vicegerents*; for none is the *Vicegerent* of another in the exerciſe of any power or Authority, if he have not received that

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power and Authority from him. Otherwiſe the words have a proper ſenſe, but nothing to our Authors purpoſe. It is his power over them, and not theirs over the Conſciences of their Subjects, that is intended in the words. Of no more uſe in this controverſie is the direction of the Apoſtle, that we *ſhould pray for Kings, that under them we may lead a quiet and peaceable life*; for no more is intended therein, but that, under their peaceable and righteous adminiſtration of humane Affairs, we may live in *that Godlineſs, and honeſty*, which is required of us. Wherefore then are theſe weak attempts made to confirm and prove what is not? Thoſe, or the moſt of them, whom our Author in this Diſcourſe treats with ſo much ſeverity, do plead that it is the duty of all ſupream Magiſtrates to find out, receive, imbrace, promote the Truths of the Goſpel, with the Worſhip of God appointed therein, confirming, protecting, and defending them, and thoſe that embrace them, by their Power and Authority. And in the diſcharge of this duty, they are to uſe the liberty of their own judgements, enformed by the wayes that God hath appointed, independently on the dictates and determinations of any other perſons whatever;

They affirm alſo, that to this end they are entruſted with ſupream power over all perſons in their reſpective Dominions, who on no pretence can be exempted from the exerciſe of that power, as occaſion in their judgements ſhall require it to be exerciſed; as alſo that all cauſes, wherein the profeſſion of Religion in their Dominions is concerned, which are determinable in *foro Civili* by *coercive Umpirage* or Authority, are ſubject unto their cognizance and power. The Soveraign power over the Conſciences of men to inſtitute, appoint, and preſcribe Religion, and the Worſhip of God, they affirm to belong unto him alone, who is the *Author and Finiſher of our Faith*, who is the *head over all things to the Church*. The Adminiſtration of things *meerly Spiritual* in the Worſhip of God is, they judge, derived immediately from him to the Miniſters, and Adminiſtrators of the Goſpel, poſſeſſed of their Offices by his Command, and according to his Inſtitution; as to the external practice of Religion, and Religious Worſhip as ſuch, It is, they ſay, in the power of the Magiſtrate to regulate all the outward civil concernments of it, with reference unto the preſervation of publick peace, and Tranquillity, and the proſperity of his ſubjects; And

And herein alſo they judge that ſuch reſpect is to be had to the Conſciences of men, as the Scripture, the Nature of the thing it ſelf, and the right of the L. Chriſt to introduce his ſpiritual Kingdom into all Nations, do require.

That which ſeems to have impoſed on the mind of this Author is, that if the Magiſtrate may make Laws for the regulating of the outward profeſſion of Religion, ſo as publick peace and tranquillity may be kept, added to what is his Duty to do in the behalf of the Truth; then he muſt have the power over Religion, and the Conſciences of men by him aſcribed unto him; But there is no privity of Intereſt between theſe things; the Laws, which he makes to this purpoſe, are to be regulated by the Word of God, and the good of the Community, over which in the name of God he doth preſide; and whence he will take his Warranty to forbid men the exerciſe of their Conſciences in the duties of *ſpiritual Worſhip*, whileſt the Principles they profeſs, are ſuited to the light of nature, and the fundamental Doctrines of the Goſpel, with the peace of mankind, and their practices abſolutely conſiſtent with publick welfare, I am yet to ſeek; and ſo, as far as I can yet perceive, is

the Author of the Diſcourſe under Conſideration. It will not ariſe from a Parity of Reaſon from the power that he hath to reſtrain *curſed Swearing, and Blaſphemies by penal Coercions*. For theſe things are no leſs againſt the Light of Nature, and no leſs condemned by the common ſuffrage of mankind (and the perſons that contract the guilt of them may be no leſs effectually brought to judge and condemn themſelves) than are the greateſt outrages that may be committed in and againſt humane Society; That the *Goſpel* will give no countenance hereunto, he ſeems to acknowledge, in his aſſignation of ſeveral reaſons why the uſe of the power, and exerciſe of it in the way of compulſion by penalties, pleaded for by him, is not mentioned therein; that *Chriſt and his Apoſtles behaved themſelves as Subjects; that he neither took nor exerciſed any Soveraign power; that He gave his Laws to Private men as ſuch, and not to the Magiſtrate, that the Power that then was, was in bad hands*, are pleaded as excuſes for the ſilence of the Goſpel in this matter. But leſt this ſhould prove farther prejudicial to his preſent occaſion, he adds p. 42. *the only reaſon why the Lord Chriſt bound not the precepts of the Goſpel upon mens Conſciences by any ſecular compulſories, was not becauſe*

Compulſion

Compulsion was an improper way to put his Laws in execution; for then He had never established them with more enforcing Sanctions, but only because himself was not vested with any secular power, and so could not use those methods of Government which are proper to its jurisdiction; this in plain *English* is, that if Christ had had power, he would have ordered the Gospel to have been propagated as *Mahomet hath done his Alcoran*; an Assertion untrue and impious, contrary to the whole spirit and *Genius* of the Gospel, and of the Author of it, and the Commands and Precepts of it. And it is fondly supposed that the Lord Christ suited all the Management of the affairs of the Gospel, unto that state and condition in this world, wherein he *emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a Servant, making Himself of no reputation, that He might be obedient unto Death, the death of the Cross*; He layes the Foundation of the promulgation and propagation of it in the world, in the grant of *all power unto him in Heaven and Earth. All power*, saith he to his Apostles, *is given unto me in heaven and earth, go ye therefore, and Baptize all Nations, teaching them to observe all things whatever I have commanded you*, Matth. 28. 19, 20. He is considered in the dispensation of the Gospel,

as He who *is head over all things to the Church*, the *Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*, whom our Author acknowledgeth to be his Vicegerents; On this account the Goſpel with all the Worſhip inſtituted therein, and required thereby, is accompanied with a *Right* to enter into any of the Kingdoms of the Earth, and ſpiritually to make the Inhabitants of them ſubject to Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo to tranſlate them out *of the power of darkneſs into the Kingdom of the Son of God*; And this Right is Antecedent and paramount to the Right of all earthly Kings and Princes whatever, who have no power or Authority to exclude the Goſpel out of their Dominions; and what they exerciſe of that kind, is done at their peril.

The *penalties that he hath annexed to the final rejection of the Goſpel, and diſobedience thereunto*, are pleaded by our Author, to juſtifie the Magiſtrates power of binding men to the *Obſervation of his Commands in Religion on temporal penalties to be by him inflicted on them*; unto that is the Diſcourſe of this *chapter* arrived which was deſigned unto another end. I ſee neither the order, method, nor projection of this procedure; nor know,

Amphora

Amphora cum cepit inſtitui, cur Urceus exit ;

However the pretenſe it ſelf is weak, and impertinent. Man was originally made under a Law and conſtitution of Eternal Bliſs, or Woe; This ſtate, with regard to his neceſſary dependance on God, and reſpect to his utmoſt end, was abſolutely unavoidable unto him. All poſſibility of attaining eternal happineſs by himſelf he loſt by Sin, and became inevitably obnoxious to eternal Miſery, and the wrath to come. In this condition the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the ſupream Lord of the ſouls and Conſciences of men, interpoſeth his law of Relief, Redemption, and Salvation, the great means of man's Recovery, together with the profeſſion of the way, and law hereof. He lets them know, that thoſe by whom it is refuſed, ſhall periſh under that Wrath of God, which before they were obnoxious unto, with a new Aggravation of their Sin and Condemnation, from the contempt of the Relief provided for them, and tendered to them. This He applyes to the Souls and Conſciences of men, and to all the inward ſecret actings of them, in the firſt place, ſuch as are exempted not only from the Judicature of men, but from the cogni-

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zance of Angels. This he doth by ſpiritual means in a ſpiritual manner, with regard to the ſubjection of the ſouls of men unto God, and with reference unto their bringing to Him, and enjoyment of Him, or their being eternally rejected by Him. Hence to collect, and conclude that Earthly Princes, who, (whatever is pretended) are not the Soveraign Lords of the Souls and Conſciences of men, nor do any of them, that I know of, plead themſelves ſo to be; who cannot interpoſe any thing by their abſolute Authority, that ſhould have a neceſſary reſpect unto mens Eternal condition; who have no knowledge of, no acquaintance with, nor can judge of the principal things whereon it doth depend, from whoſe temporal juriſdiction, and puniſhment the things of the Goſpel, and the Worſhip of God as purely ſuch, are (by the nature of them, being ſpiritual and not of this World, though exerciſed in it, having their reſpect only unto Eternity, and by their being taken into the ſole diſpoſal of the Soveraign Lord of Conſciences, who hath accompanied His Commands concerning them with His own Promiſes, and Threatnings,) plainly exempted; ſhould have power over the Conſciences of men, ſo to lay their Commands

mands upon them in theſe ſpiritual things, as to back them with Temporal, Corporal Reſtraints and Puniſhments, is a way of Arguing that will not be confined unto any of thoſe Rules of reaſoning, which hitherto we have been inſtructed in. When the Magiſtrate hath *an Arm like God*, and *can Thunder with a Voice like Him*, when he judgeth *not after the ſight of his eyes, nor reproveth after the hearing of his ears, when he can ſmite the Earth with the Rod of his Mouth*, and *ſlay the Wicked with the breath of his Lipps*, when he is conſtituted a judge of the Faith, Repentance, and Obedience of men, and of their Efficacy in their Tendency unto the pleaſing of God here, and the Enjoyment of Him hereafter, when Spiritual Things in order to their Eternal Iſſues and Effects are made ſubject unto Him; in brief, when he is Chriſt, let him act as Chriſt, or rather moſt unlike Him, and guide the Conſciences of men by Rods, Axes, and Halters (whereunto alone his power can reach) who in the mean time have an expreſs command from the Lord Chriſt Himſelf, not to have their Conſciences influenced in the leaſt by the conſideration of theſe things.

Of the like Complexion is the enſuing Diſcourſe, wherein our Author, *p.* 43. having

having ſpoken contemptuouſly of the Spiritual Inſtitutions of the Goſpel, as altogether *inſufficient for the Accompliſhment of the Ends, whereunto they are deſigned*, forgetting that they reſpect only the Conſciences of men, and are *his* Inſtitutions who is the Lord of their Conſciences, and who will give them power, and efficacy to attain their Ends, when adminiſtred in his name, and according to his mind, and that becauſe they are *His*; would prove the neceſſity of Temporal coercions, and penalties in things Spiritual, from the Extraordinary Effects of *Excommunication* in the primitive times, in the *Vexation and puniſhment of perſons Excommunicate by the Devil*. This work the Devil now ceaſing to attend unto, he would have the Magiſtrate to take upon him to ſupply his place, and Office, by puniſhments of his own Appointment, and Infliction; and ſo at laſt, to be ſure of giving him full meaſure, he hath aſcribed two Extreams unto him about Religion, namely, to act the part of God, and the Devil. But as this Inference is built upon a very uncertain conjecture, namely, that upon the *giving up of perſons to Satan in Excommunication*, there did any viſible, or Corporal Vexation of them by his power enſue, or any other effects but what

what may yet be justly expected from an Influence of his Terrour on the minds of men, who are duly and regularly cast out of the visible Kingdom of Christ by that censure; and whereas, if there be any truth in it, it was confined unto the dayes of the Apostles, and is to be reckoned amongst the *miraculous Operations* granted to them for the first confirmation of the Gospel; and the continuance of it, all the time the Church wanted the Assistance of the Civil Magistrate, is most unduly pretended without any colour of Proof, or Instance, beyond such as may be evidenced to continue at this day; supposing it to be true, the Inference made from it, as to its consequence on this concession, is exceeding weak, and feeble. For the Argument here amounteth to no more but this; God was pleased, in the dayes of the Apostles, to confirm their Spiritual Censures against Stuborn Sinners, Apostates, Blasphemers, and such like hainous Offenders, with extraordinary spiritual Punishments, (so in their own nature, or in the manner, or way of their Infliction) therefore the Civil *Magistrate* hath power to appoint things to be observed in the Worship of God, and forbid other things, which the Light and Consciences of men, directed by the Word of God, require

require the obſervation of, upon ordinary, ſtanding, corporal penalties to be inflicted on the outward man; *quod erat demonſtrandum.*

To wind up *this Debate*; I ſhall commit *the Umpirage* of it to the *Church of England*, and receive her Determination in the words of one who may be ſuppoſed to know her ſenſe and Judgement, as well as any one who lived in his dayes, or ſince. And this is *Doctor Bilſon Biſhop of Wincheſter*, a Learned man, skilled in the Laws of the Land, and a great Adverſary unto all that diſſented from Church Conſtitutions. This man therefore treating, by way of *Dialogue*, in anſwer to the *Jeſuites Apologie and Defence*, in the *Third Part p.* 293. thus introduceth *Theophilus* a Proteſtant Divine, arguing with *Philander a Jeſuite* about theſe matters. Theoph. *As for the Supream Head of the Church; it is certain that Title was firſt transferred from the Pope to King* Henry *the eighth, by the Biſhops of your ſide, not of ours. And though the Paſtors in King* Edwards *time might not well diſlike, much leſs diſſwade the ſtyle of the Crown, by Reaſon the King was under years, and ſo remained until he dyed; yet as ſoon as it pleaſed God to place her Majeſty in her Fathers Throne, the Nobles and Preachers perceiving the words,* Head of the Church,

Church, (*which is Christs proper and peculiar honor*) *to be offensive unto many that had vehemently refelled the same in the Pope, besought her Highness the meaning of that word which her Father had used, might be expressed in some plainer and apter terms; And so was the Prince called Supream Governour of the Realm; that is Ruler and Bearer of the Sword, with lawful Authority to command and punish, answerable to the Word of God, in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical things or Causes, as well as in Temporal. And no Forreign Prince or Prelate, to have any Jurisdiction, Superiority, Prehe-minence or Authority to establish, prohibit, correct, and chastise with Publick Laws, or Temporal Pains, any Crimes or Causes Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within her Realm.* Philand. Calvin *saith this is Sacriledge and Blasphemy. Look you therefore with what Consciences you take that Oath, which your own Master so mightily deteseth.* Theoph. *Nay look you with what faces you alledge* Calvin, *who maketh that style to be sacrilegious and blasphemous, as well in the Pope as in the Prince; reason therefore you receive or refuse his Judgement in both. If it derogate from Christ in the Prince, so it doth in the Pope. Yet we grant the sense of the word Supream, as* Calvin *perceived it by* Stephen Gardiners *Answer and behaviour, is very blasphemous and injurious*

to

to Christ and his Word, whether it be Prince or Pope that so shall use it. What this sense is, he declares in the words of *Calvin*, which are as followeth in his Translation of them. *That Jugler, which after was Chancelor, I mean the Bishop of* Winchester, *when he was at* Rentzburge, *neither would stand to reason the matter, nor greatly cared for any testimonies of the Scripture, but said it was at the Kings discretion to abrogate that which was in use, and appoint new. He said the King might forbid Priests Marriage, the King might bar the people from the Cup in the Lords Supper; the King might determine this or that in his Kingdom: And why, forsooth the King had Supream Power. This Sacriledge hath taken hold on us, whilst Princes think they cannot reign, except they abolish all the Authority of the Church, and be themselves supream Judges as well in Doctrine as in all Spiritual Regiment.* To which he subjoyns; *This was the sense which* Calvin *affirmed to be sacrilegious and blasphemous; for Princes to profess themselves to be Supream Judges of Doctrine and Discipline; and indeed it is the blasphemy which all godly hearts reject and abomine, in the Bishop of* Rome. *Neither did King* Henry *take any such thing on him for ought that we can learn; but this was* Gardiners *Stratagem, to convey the reproach and shame of the*

Six

Six Articles from himself and his fellows that were the Authors of them, and to cast it on the Kings Supream Power. Had Calvin *been told, that Supream was first received to declare the Prince to be Superiour to the Prelates, (which exempted themselves from the Kings Authority by their Church Liberties and Immunities) as well as to the Lay men of this Realm, and not to be subject to the Pope, the Word would never have offended him.* Thus far he; and if these Controversies be any farther disputed, it is probable the next defence of what is here pleaded, will be in the expres words of the Principal Prelates of this Realm since the Reformation, until their Authority be peremptorily rejected.

Upon my first design to take a brief Survey of this Discourse, I had not the least intention to undertake the examination of any particular Assertions, or Reasonings, that might fall under Controversie; but meerly to examine the general Principles whereon it doth proceed. But passing through these things *Currente calamo*, I find my self engaged beyond my thoughts and resolutions; I shall therefore here put an end to the consideration of this Chapter, although I see sundry things as yet remaining in it, that might immediately be dis-

cuſſed with eaſe, and advantage, as ſhall be manifeſt, if we are called again to a review of them. I have neither deſire, nor deſign *Serram reciprocare*, or to engage in any Controverſial Diſcourſes with this Author. And I preſume himſelf will not take it amiſs, that I do at preſent examine thoſe Principles, whoſe *Novelty* juſtifies a Diſquiſition into them; and whoſe Tendency, as applyed by him, is pernicious, and deſtructive to ſo many quiet and peaceable perſons, who diſſent from him. And yet I will not deny, but that I have that Valuation and eſteem for that ſparkling of Wit, Eloquence, and ſundry other Abilities of mind, which appear in his Writing, that if he would lay aſide the manner of his treating thoſe from whom he diſſents, with Revilings, contemptuous Reproaches, perſonal Reflections, Sarcaſms, and Satyrical expreſſions, and would candidly, and perſpicuouſly ſtate any matter in difference; I ſhould think that what he hath to offer, may deſerve the conſideration of them who have leiſure for ſuch a purpoſe. If he be otherwiſe minded, and reſolve to proceed in the way, and after the manner here engaged in, as I ſhall in the cloſe of this Diſcourſe abſolutely give him my

Salve

Salve æternumq; vale, ſo I hope he will never meet with any one who ſhall be willing to deal with him at his own weapons.

A Survey of the Second Chapter.

THE *Summary* of this Chapter muſt needs give the Reader a great expectation, and the Chapter it ſelf no leſs of ſatisfaction, if what is in the one briefly propoſed, be in the other as firmly eſtabliſhed. For amongſt other things a *Scheme of Religion* is promiſed, reducing all its branches either to *Moral Vertues*, or *Inſtruments of Morality*; which being ſpoken of *Chriſtian* Religion, is, as far as I know, an undertaking new and peculiar unto this Author, in whoſe mannagement all that read him muſt needs weigh and conſider, how dextrouſly he hath acquitted himſelf. For as all men grant that *Morality* hath a great place in Religion, ſo that all Religion is nothing but Morality, many are now to learn. *The Villany of thoſe Mens Re-*

ligion that are wont to distinguish between Grace and Vertue (that is Moral Vertue) is nextly traduced and inveighed against. I had rather I confess that he had affixed the term of *Villany* to the men themselves whom he intended to reflect on than to their Religion; because as yet it seems to me that it will fall on *Christianity*, and no other Real or pretended Religion that is, or ever was in the world. For if the Professors of it, have in all Ages according to its avowed Principles, never before contradicted, made a distinction between *Moral Vertues* (since these terms were known in the Church) and *Evangelical Graces*, if they do so at this day, what Religion else can be here branded with this Infamous and horrible reproach, I know not. A farther enquiry into the *Chapter* it self may possibly give us farther satisfaction; wherein we shall deal as impartially as we are able, with a diligent watchfulness against all prejudicate Affections, that we may discover what there is of Sense and Truth in the Discourse, being ready to receive whatever shall be manifested to have an interest in them. *The Civil Magistrate*, we are also here informed, amongst many other things that he may do, *may command any thing in the Worship of God that doth not tend*

to

to debauch Mens practices, or to disgrace the Deity. And that *all subordinate Duties both of Morality and Religious Worship* (such as elsewhere we are told the Sacraments are) *are equally subject to the determination of Humane Authority.* These things and sundry others represented in this *Summary*, being new, yea some of them, as far as I know, unheard of amongst Christians untill within a few years last past, any Reader may justifie himself in the expectation of full and demonstrative Arguments to be produced in their proof and confirmation. What the issue will be, some discovery may be made by the ensuing enquiry, as was said, into the body of the Chapter it self.

The design of this Chapter in general is, to confirm the power of the Magistrate over Religion, and the Consciences of men ascribed unto him in the former, and to add unto it some enlargements not therein insisted on. The Argument used to this purpose, is taken from the *power of the Magistrate over the Consciences of men in matters of morality*, or with *respect unto moral Vertue*; whence it is supposed the conclusion is so evident unto his *power over their Consciences in matters of Religious Worship*, that it strikes our Author *with wonder and amaze-*

ment that it ſhould not be received an acknowledged. Wherefore to further th conviction of all men in this matter, h proceeds to diſcourſe of *Moral Vertue*, o *Grace*, and of *Religious Worſhip*, with hi wonted reflections upon, and reproache of *Non-conformiſts*, for their *ignorance* about and *villanous miſrepreſentation* of theſe things, which ſeem more to be aimed at than the *Argument* it ſelf.

I muſt here wiſh again that our Autho had more perſpicuouſly ſtated the thing which he propoſeth to debate for the ſubject of his Diſputation. But I find an exceſs of Art is as troubleſome ſometimes as the greateſt defect therein. From thence I preſume it is, that things are ſo handled in this Diſcourſe, that an ordinary man can ſeldom diſcern ſatisfactorily, what it is that directly and determinately he doth intend, beyond reviling of Non-conformiſts. For in this Propoſition, which is the beſt and moſt intelligible that I can reduce the preſent Diſcourſe unto, *the Supream Civil Magiſtrate hath power over the Conſciences of men in morality, or with reſpect unto moral vertue*; excepting only the ſubject of it, there is not one term in it that may not have various ſignifications; and thoſe ſuch as have countenance given unto them in the

the enſuing Diſputation it ſelf. But, *contenti ſumus hoc Catone*, and make the beſt we can of what lyes before us.

I do ſuppoſe that in the *medium* made uſe of in this Argument there is, or I am ſure there may be, a Controverſie of much more importance than that principally under conſideration. It therefore ſhall be ſtated and cleared in the firſt place, and then the concernment of the Argument it ſelf in what is diſcourſed thereupon, ſhall be manifeſted. It is about *Moral Vertue* and *Grace*, their coincidence, or diſtinction, that we are in the firſt place to enquire. For without a due ſtating of the conception of theſe things, nothing of this Argument, nor what belongs unto it, can be rightly underſtood. We ſhall therefore be neceſſitated to premiſe a brief Explanation of theſe terms themſelves, to remove as far as may be all ambiguity from our Diſcourſe.

Firſt then, the very name of *Vertue*, in the ſenſe wherein it is commonly uſed and received, comes from the *Schools of Philoſophy*, and not from the Scripture. In the Old Teſtament we have *Uprightneſs*, *Integrity*, *Righteouſneſs*, *doing Good and eſchewing Evil*, *Fearing*, *Truſting*, *Obeying*, *Believing in God*, *Holineſs* and the like; but the name

of *Vertue* doth not occur therein. It is really true we have translated אשת חיל a *vertuous* Woman; and once or twice the same word that *vertuously*, *Ruth.* 3. 11. *Prov.* 12. 4. *Chap.* 31. 10, 39. But that word signifies as it is used, *strenuous*, *industrious*, *diligent*, and hath no such signification as that we now express by vertue. Nor is it any where rendred ἀρετὴ by the *LXX.* although it may have some respect unto it, as ἀρετὴ may be derived from ἄρης, and peculiarly denote the exercise of industrious strength, such as men use in Battail. For חיל is *vis*, *robur*, *potentia*, or *exercitus* also. But in the common acceptation of it, and as it is used by Philosophers, there is no word in the *Hebrew* nor *Syriack* properly to express it. The *Rabbins* do it by מִדָּה which signifies properly a *measure*. For studying the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, and translating his *Ethicks* into *Hebrew*, which was done by *Rabbi Meir*, and finding his *vertue* placed in mediocrity, they applyed מדה to express it. So they call *Aristotles Ethicks* ספר המדות *the Book of Measures*, that is of vertues. And מדות טובות are *boni mores*. Such a stranger is this very word unto the Old Testament. In the New Testament ἀρετὴ occurs four times; but it should not seem any where to be taken in the sense now generally

rally admitted. In ſome of the places it rather denotes the excellency and praiſes that do attend Vertue, than Vertue it ſelf. So we render ἀρεταὶ *praiſes*; 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. as the *Syriack* doth alſo תשבוחתה, *praiſes*; and the ſame Tranſlation, *Phil.* 4. 9. renders εἴ τις ἀρετὴ, *If there be any vertue*, by עבדא ושובחא, *works glorious*, or *praiſe worthy*. 2 *Pet.* 1. 9. It is a peculiar gracious diſpoſition, operation of mind, diſtinguiſhed from *Faith*, *Temperance*, *Patience*, *Brotherly kindneſs*, *Godlineſs*, *Charity*, *&c.* and ſo cannot have the common ſenſe of the word there put upon it.

The word *Moral* is yet far more exotick to the Church and Scripture. We are beholding for it, if there be any advantage in its uſe, meerly to the Schools of the Philoſophers, eſpecially of *Ariſtotle*. His Doctrine περὶ ἠθῶν, commonly called his ἠθικὰ or *Moralia*, his *Morals*, hath begotten this name for our uſe. The whole is expreſſed in *Iſocrates* to *Demonicus* by ἡ τρόπων ἀρετὴ, the *vertue of manners*. If then the ſignification of the words be reſpected as uſually taken, it is *vertue in mens manners* that is intended. The *Schoolmen* brought this expreſſion with all its concerns, as they did the reſt of *Ariſtotles* Philoſophy into the Church and Divinity.

And

And I cannot but think it had been well if they had never done it; as all will grant they might have omitted ſome other things without the leaſt diſadvantage to Learning or Religion. However this expreſſion of *Moral Vertue* having abſolutely poſſeſt it ſelf of the Fancies and Diſcourſes of all, and it may be of the Underſtanding of ſome, though with very little ſatisfaction when all things are conſidered, I ſhall not endeavour to diſpoſſeſs it, or eliminate it from the Confines of Chriſtian *Theologie*. Only I am ſure had we been left unto the Scripture expreſſions, of *Repentance towards God*, and *Faith towards our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, of the *fear of God*, *of Holineſs*, *Righteouſneſs*, *living unto God*, *walking with God*, *and before him*, we might have been free from many vain wordy perplexities; and the whole wrangle of this Chapter in particular, had been utterly prevented. For let but the Scripture expreſs what it is to be *Religious*, and there will be no conteſting about the difference or no difference between Grace and *Moral* Vertue. It is ſaid, that *ſome judge thoſe who have Moral Vertue to want Grace, not to be Gracious*. But ſay, that men *are born of God*, and *do not commit ſin*, that they *walk before God and are upright*, that they *cleave unto*

unto God with full purpose of heart, that they *are sanctified in Christ Jesus* and the like, and no man will say that they have not *Grace*, or are *not Gracious*, if they receive your Testimony. But having, as was said, made its entrance amongst us, we must deal with it as well as we can, and satisfie our selves about its common Acceptation and Use.

Generally, *moral Vertues* are esteemed to be the Duties of the *second Table*. For although those who handle these matters more accurately, do not so straiten or confine them, yet it is certain that in *vulgar* and common Acceptation, (which strikes no small stroke, in the regulating of the conceptions of the wisest *Men*, about the signification of words) nothing else is intended by *Moral vertues* or *Duties of Morality*, but the observation of the Precepts of the second Table. Nor is any thing else designed by those Divines, who in their writings so frequently declare, that it is not *morality alone* that will render men acceptable to God. Others do extend these things further, and fix the denomination of *moral*, firstly upon the *Law* or Rule of all those Habits of the Mind, and its Operations, which afterwards thence they call *moral*. Now this *Moral Law* is nothing but the

the Law of Nature, or the Law of our Creation; which the Apoſtle affirms to lye equally obligatory on all men, even all the Gentiles themſelves, *Rom.* 2. 14, 15. and whereof the *Decalogue* is ſummarily expreſſive. This *Moral Law* is therefore the Law written in the hearts of all men by Nature, which is reſolved partly into the Nature of God himſelf, which cannot but require moſt of the things of it from Rational Creatures; partly into that ſtate and condition of the nature of things and their mutual Relations, wherein God was pleaſed to create and ſet them. Theſe things might be eaſily inſtanced and exemplified, but that we muſt not too much divert from our preſent occaſion. And herein lyes the largeſt ſenſe and Acceptation of the Law *Moral*, and conſequently of *Moral Vertues*, which have their Form and Being from their Relation and conformity thereunto. Let it be then, that *Moral Vertues* conſiſt in the univerſal obſervance of the requiſites and Precepts of the Law of our Creation and dependance on God thereby. And this deſcription, as we ſhall ſee for the ſubſtance of it, is allowed by our Author.

Now theſe Vertues, or this conformity of our minds and actions unto the Law of our Creation, may be in the light and reaſon

reaſon of Chriſtian Religion, conſidered two wayes. Firſt, as with reſpect unto the ſubſtance or Eſſence of the Duties themſelves, they may be performed by men in their own ſtrength, under the conduct of their own Reaſon, without any ſpecial aſſiſtance from the Spirit, or Sanctifying Grace of Chriſt. In this ſenſe, they ſtill bare the name of *Vertues*, and for the ſubſtance of them deſerve ſo to do. Good they are in themſelves, uſeful to Mankind, and ſeldome in the Providence of God go without their reward in this World. I grant I ſay, that they may be obtained and acted without ſpecial aſſiſtance of Grace Evangelical; though the wiſer Heathens acknowledged ſomething Divine in the communication of them to Men. *Papinius* ſpeaks to that purpoſe,

Diva Jovis ſolio juxta comes; unde per Orbem
Rara dari, Terriſq; ſolet contingere virtus.
Seu Pater Omnipotens tribuit, ſive ipſa capaces
Elegit, penetrare Viros.——

But old *Homer* put it abſolutely in the will of his God.

Ζευς δ' αρετην ανδρεσσιν οφελλει τε μινυθει τε
Οτεω κεν εθελησι.

Thus

Thus we grant moral vertue to have been in the Heathen of old. For this is that alone whereby they were diſtinguiſhed amongſt themſelves. And he that would exclude them all from any intereſt in *moral vertue*, takes away all difference between *Cato* and *Nero*, *Ariſtides* and *Tiberius*, *Titus* and *Domitian*; and overthrows all natural difference between good and evil; which beſides other abominations that it would plentifully ſpawn in the World, would inevitably deſtroy all humane Society. But now theſe moral vertues thus performed, whatever our Author thinks, are diſtinct from Grace, may be without it, and in their preſent deſcription, which is not imaginary but real, are ſuppoſed ſo to be. And if he pleaſes he may exerciſe himſelf in the longſome diſputes of *Bellarmin*, *Gregory de Valentia*, and others to this purpoſe innumerable; not to mention Reformed Divines leſt they ſhould be ſcornfully rejected as *Syſtematical*. And this is enough I am ſure to free *their Religion from Villany, who make a diſtinction between Moral Vertue and Grace.* And if our Author is otherwiſe minded, and [illegible] believe that there is *Grace Evangelical*, [illegible]ever there is Moral Vertue, or, that [illegible]al Vertues may be ſo obtained and exerc[illegible]ed without the ſpecial aſſiſtance of Grace,

Grace, as to become a part of our Religion, and accepted with God, and will maintain his Opinion in Writing, I will promiſe him if I live to return him an anſwer, on one only condition, which is, that he will firſt anſwer what *Auguſtine* hath written againſt the *Pelagians* on this Subject.

Again theſe moral Vertues, this obſervance of the Precepts of the Law of our Creation, in a conſonancy whereunto originally the Image of God in us did conſiſt, may now under the Goſpel be conſidered, as men are principled, aſſiſted, and enabled to and in their performance by the *Grace of God*, and as they are directed unto the eſpecial end of living unto him in and by Jeſus Chriſt. What is particularly required hereunto, ſhall be afterwards declared. Now in this ſenſe no man living ever diſtinguiſhed between Grace and Vertue, any otherwiſe than the cauſe and the effect are to be, or may be diſtinguiſhed; much leſs was any Perſon ever ſo Bruitiſh as to fancy *an inconſiſtency between them.* For take Grace in one ſenſe, and it is the efficient cauſe of this Vertue, or of theſe Vertues which are the effects of it; and in another they are all Graces themſelves. For that which is wrought in us by Grace is Grace; as that which *is born of the Spirit is Spirit.*

To

To this purpoſe ſomething may be ſpoken concerning *Grace* alſo, the other term, whoſe ambiguity renders the Diſcourſe under conſideration ſomewhat intricate and perplexed. Now as the former term of *Moral Vertue* owed its Original to the Schools of *Philoſophy*, and its uſe was borrowed from them; So this of *Grace* is purely Scriptural and *Evangelical*. The World knows nothing of it but what is declared in the Word of God, eſpecially in the Goſpel, *for the Law was given by* Moſes, *but Grace and Truth came by Jeſus Chriſt*. All the Books of the Ancient Philoſophers, will not give us the leaſt light into that notion of Grace, which the Scripture declares unto us. As then we allowed the ſenſe of the *former term* given unto it by its firſt coyners and uſers, ſo we cannot but think it equal, that men be preciſely tyed up in their conceptions about Grace, unto what is delivered in the Scripture concerning it; as having no other Rule either to frame them, or judge of them. And this We ſhall attend unto. Not that I here deſign to treat of the *nature of Goſpel Grace* in general; but whereas all the Divines that ever I have read on theſe things, whether Ancient or Modern (and I have not troubled my ſelf to conſider whether

whether they were *Syſtematical ones* only or otherwiſe qualified) allow ſome diſtinctions of this term to be neceſſary, for the right underſtanding of thoſe paſſages of Scripture wherein it is made uſe of. I ſhall mention that or thoſe only, which are ſo unto the right apprehenſion of what is at preſent under Debate.

Firſt therefore, Grace in the Scripture is taken for the *free Grace*, or *favour of God* towards ſinners by Jeſus Chriſt. By this he freely pardoneth them their ſins, Juſtifieth, and accepteth them, or *makes them accepted in the Beloved.* This certainly is diſtinct from *Moral* Vertue. Secondly, It is taken for the *effectual working* of the Spirit of God, in and upon the minds and ſouls of Believers, thereby *quickning them when they were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*, Regenerating of them, Creating a new heart in them, implanting his Image upon them: neither I preſume will this be called *Moral Vertue.* Thirdly, For the actual ſupplies of Aſſiſtance and Ability given to Believers, ſo to enable them unto every Duty in particular, which in the Goſpel is required of them; *for he works in them both to Will and to Do of his own good pleaſure.* As yet the former diſtinction will appear

neceſſary. Fourthly, For the effects wrought and produced by this Operation of God and his Grace, in the hearts and minds of them that believe; which are either habitual in the ſpiritual diſpoſition of their minds, or actual in their operations; all which are called *Grace*. It may be our Author will be apt to think that I *Cant, uſe Phraſes*, or *fulſome Metaphors*. But beſides that I can confirm theſe diſtinctions, and the neceſſity of them, and the words wherein they are expreſſed, from the Scriptures and Ancient Fathers, I can give them him for the ſubſtance of them out of very Learned Divines, whether Syſtematical or no I know not, but this I know they were not long ſince *Biſhops of the Church of* England.

We are now in the next place to inquire into the mind of our Author in theſe things; for from his apprehenſions about them he frames a mighty difference between himſelf and thoſe whom he oppoſeth, and from thence takes occaſion and advantage afreſh to revile and reproach them.

Firſt, Therefore he declares his judgement, that the Moral Vertues which he treats of *do conſiſt in Mens obſervance of the Law of Nature, of the Dictates*

dates of Reaſon, and Precepts thereof.

Secondly, That the *Subſtance, yea the whole of Religion conſiſts in theſe Vertues, or Duties; ſo that by the obſervation of them Men may attain Everlaſting Happineſs.*

Thirdly, That there *is no actual concurrence of preſent Grace, enabling Men to perform theſe Duties, or to exerciſe theſe Vertues, but they are called Grace on another account.*

Fourthly, *That his Adverſaries are ſo far from making Vertue and Grace to be the ſame that they make them inconſiſtent.* And theſe things ſhall we take into a brief examination according as indeed they do deſerve.

The firſt of them, he plainly and more than once affirms; nor ſhall I contend with him about it. So he ſpeaks pag. 68. *The practice of Vertue conſiſts in living ſuitably to the dictates of Reaſon and nature, and this is the ſubſtance and main deſign of all the Laws of Religion, to oblige mankind to behave themſelves in all their actions as becomes Creatures endowed with Reaſon and underſtanding, and in wayes ſuitable to Rational beings, to prepare and qualifie themſelves for the State of Glory and immortality.*

This is a plain description both of the *Rule* of moral Vertues, and of the *nature* of them. The Law of Reason and nature is the Rule; and their own nature (as acting, or acted) consists in a *suitableness unto Rational Beings*; acting, to prepare themselves for the state of immortality and Glory. The first end of all vertue no doubt. We need not therefore make any farther inquiry into this matter, wherein we are agreed.

Secondly, That the *Substance*, yea the *whole* of Religion consists in these Moral Vertues he fully also declares, pag. 69. *Moral Vertue having the strongest and most necessary influence upon the end of all Religion* viz. *mans Happiness, it is not only its most material and useful part, but the ultimate end of all its other Duties*; (though I know not, how the practice of Vertue in this life can be the *Ultimate End* of other Duties) *and all true Religion can consist in nothing else but either the practice of Vertue it self, or the use of those means and instruments that contribute unto it.* So also p. 70. *All Duties of Devotion excepting only our returns of Gratitude are not essential parts of Religion, but are only in order to it, as they tend to the practice of Vertue and Moral Goodness; and their goodness is derived upon them*

them from the Moral Vertues to which they contribute; and in the ſame proportion they are conducive to the ends of Vertue, they are to be valued among the Miniſteries of Religion. So then the whole Duty of Man conſiſts in being vertuous, and all that is injoyned him beſide, is in order thereunto. Hence We are told elſewhere, that *outward Worſhip is no part of Religion*; again pag. 76. *All Religion muſt of neceſſity be reſolved into Enthuſiaſm or Morality; the former is meer impoſture, and therefore all that is true muſt be reduced to the latter.* But we need not inſiſt on particulars, ſeeing he promoteth this to confirmation by the beſt of Demonſtrations, *i. e.* an induction of all particulars; which he calls a *Scheme of Religion*; wherein yet if any thing neceſſary be left out or omitted, this *beſt of Demonſtrations* is quickly turned into one of the *worſt of Sophiſmes*. Therefore we have here (no doubt) a juſt and full Repreſentation of all that belongs to Chriſtian Religion; and it is as follows; pag. 69. *The whole Duty of Man referrs either to his Creator, or his Neighbour, or Himſelf. All that concerns the two laſt, is confeſſedly of a moral nature; and all that concerns the firſt, conſiſts either in Praiſing of God or Praying to him; The former is a branch of the Vertue of Gratitude, and*

is nothing but a thankful and Humble temper of mind, ariſing from a ſenſe of Gods greatneſs in Himſelf, and his Goodneſs to us. So that this part of Devotion iſſues from the ſame vertuous quality, that is the Principle of all other reſentments and expreſſions of Gratitude; only thoſe acts of it that are terminated on God as their Object are ſtiled Religious; and therefore Gratitude and Devotion are not divers things, but only differing names of the ſame thing; Devotion being nothing elſe but the Vertue of Gratitude towards God. The *latter*, viz. *Prayer is either put up in our own or other mens behalf; if for others it is an act of that Vertue we call kindneſs or Charity; if for our ſelves, the things we pray for, unleſs they be the comforts and enjoyments of this life, are ſome or other vertuous qualities; and therefore the proper and direct uſe of Prayer is to be inſtrumental to the Vertues of Morality.* It is of *Chriſtian Religion* that this Author treats, as is manifeſt from his enſuing Diſcourſe, and the Reaſon he gives why *Moral* Vertues are ſtiled Graces. Now I muſt needs ſay that I look on this of our Author as the rudeſt, moſt imperfect, and weakeſt *Scheme of Chriſtian Religion* that ever yet I ſaw; ſo far from compriſing an induction of all particulars belonging to it, that there is nothing in it

that

that is conſtitutive of Chriſtian Religion as ſuch at all. I wiſh he had given us a ſummary of the *Credenda* of it, as he hath done of its *Agenda*, that we might have had a proſpect of the body of his Divinity. The *ten Commandments* would in my mind have done twice as well on this preſent occaſion, with the addition of the Explication of them given us in the *Church Catechiſm*. But I am afraid that very *Catechiſm* may ere long be eſteemed *Phanatical* alſo. One I confeſs I have read of before, who was of this Opinion, that all Religion conſiſted *in Morality alone*. But withall he was ſo Ingenious as to follow the conduct of his Judgement in this matter, unto a full Renunciation of the Goſpel, which is certainly inconſiſtent with it. This was one *Martin Sidelius* a *Seileſian*, who gave the enſuing account of his Faith unto *Fauſtus Socinus* and his Society at *Cracovia*.

Cæterum ut ſciatis cujus ſim religionis, quamvis id ſcripto meo quod habetis, oſtenderim, tamen hic breviter repetam. Et primum quidem doctrina de Meſſia, ſeu Rege illo promiſſo, ad meam religionem nihil pertinet : nam Rex eſſe tantum Judæis promiſſus erat, ſicut & bona illa Canaan. Sic etiam circumciſio ſacrificia, & reliquæ cerimoniæ Moſis ad me non pertinent, ſed tantum populo

Judaico promissa data & mandata sunt. Neque ista fuerunt cultus Dei apud Judæos, sed inserviebant cultui divino, & ad cultum deducebant Judæos. Verus autem cultus Dei quem meam religionem appello, est Decalogus: qui est æterna Dei voluntas, qui Decalogus ideo ad me pertinet, quia etiam mihi à Deo datus est, non quidem per vocem sonantem de cœlo, sicut populo Judaico, at per creationem insita est menti meæ; quia autem insitus Decalogus, per corruptionem naturæ humanæ, & pravis consuetudinibus, aliqua ex parte obscuratus est, ideo ad illustrandum eum, adhibeo vocalem Decalogum, qui vocalis Decalogus, ideo etiam ad me, ad omnes populos pertinet, quia cum insito nobis Decalogo consentit, imo idem ille Decalogus est. Hæc est mea sententia de Messia seu rege illo promisso, & hæc est mea religio, quam coram vobis ingenue profiteor. Martin Seidelius Olavensis Silesius.

That is. *But that you may know of what Religion I am, although it is expressed in that Writing which you have already, yet I will here briefly repeat it. And first of all, the Doctrine of the Messiah, or King that was promised doth not belong to my Religion; for that King was promised to the Jews only; as was the good Land of* Canaan. *So in like manner circumcision, Sacrifices and the rest of the Ceremonies*

nics of Moſes *belong not to me, but were promiſed, given, and granted unto the people of the Jews alone. Neither were they the Worſhip of God among the Jews, but were only ſubſervient unto Divine Worſhip, and lead the Jews unto it* (the ſame Opinion is maintained by our Author concerning all exterior Worſhip :) *but the true Worſhip which I call my Religion, is the Decalogue which is the Eternal and immutable Will of God* ; (And here alſo he hath the conſent and concurrence of our Author) *which Decalogue doth therefore belong unto me becauſe it is given by God to me alſo* ; *not indeed by a voice ſounding from Heaven as he gave it to the people of the Jews, but it is implanted in my mind by nature. But becauſe this implanted Decalogue by reaſon of the corruption of humane nature, and through depraved Cuſtoms, is in ſome meaſure obſcured, for the illuſtration of it I make uſe of the vocal Decalogue, which therefore alſo belongs unto me and all people* ; *becauſe it conſenteth with the Decalogue written in our hearts* ; *yea is the ſame Law with it. This is my opinion concerning the Meſſiah, or the promiſed King* ; *and this is my Religion which I freely acknowledge before ye.* So he, This is plain dealing. He ſaw clearly, that if all Religion and the Worſhip of God conſiſted in *Morality only*, there was neither

neither need nor uſe of Chriſt, nor the Goſpel. And accordingly having no outward advantage by them, diſcarded them. But ſetting aſide his bold renunciation of Chriſt as promiſed, I ſee not any material difference between the Religion of this man and that now contended for. The poor deluded ſouls among our ſelves, who leaving the Scripture, pretend that they are guided by the *Light within them*, are upon the matter of the ſame Religion. For that *light* being nothing but the Dictates of Reaſon and a natural Conſcience, it extends not it ſelf beyond *Morality*; which ſome of them underſtanding, we know what thoughts and apprehenſions they have had of Chriſt and of his Goſpel and the Worſhip of God inſtituted there in. For hence it is, (and not as our Author pretends, with a ſtrange incogitancy concerning them and the *Gnoſticks*, that they aſſert the Scripture to be the only Rule of Religious Worſhip) that they are fallen into theſe fond imaginations. And theſe are the effects which this Principle doth naturally lead unto. I confeſs then that I do not agree with our Author in and about this Scheme of Chriſtian Religion; which I ſhall therefore firſt briefly put in my exceptions unto, and then offer him another in lieu of it. Firſt,

First, Then this Scheme ſeems to repreſent Religion unto us as ſuited to the ſtate of Innocency, and that very imperfectly alſo. For it is compoſed to anſwer the former aſſertions of confining Religion to Moral Vertues, which are granted to conſiſt in our conformity unto and expreſſion of the Dictates of Reaſon and the Law of Nature. Again the whole duty of man is ſaid to refer either to his *Creator, or his Neighbour, or himſelf.* Had it been ſaid to *God abſolutely*, another interpretation might have been put upon the words. But being reſtrained unto him as our *Creator*, all Duties referring to our Redeemer are excluded, or not included, which certainly have ſome place in Chriſtian Religion. Our Obedience therein is the Obedience of Faith, and muſt anſwer the ſpecial objects of it. And we are taught in the *Church Catechiſm to believe in God the Father who made us and all the world*, and *in God the Son who redeemed us and all Mankind*; and *in God the Holy Ghoſt, who ſanctifies us and all the Elect people of God.* Now theſe diſtinct acts of Faith, have diſtinct acts of Obedience attending them; whereas none here are admitted, or at leaſt required, but thoſe which fall under the firſt head. It is alſo very imperfect as a deſcription of

of natural Religion, or the Duties of the Law of Nature. For the principal Duties of it, ſuch as fear, love, truſt, affiance of and in God, are wholly omitted; nor will they be reduced unto either of the heads which all Religion is here diſtributed unto. For *Gratitude unto God* hath reſpect formally and directly to the benefits we our ſelves are made partakers of. But theſe Duties are eternally neceſſary on the conſideration of the nature of God himſelf, antecedent unto the conſideration of his communicating of himſelf unto us by his benefits. Prayer proceeds from them; and it is an odd Method to reduce the Cauſe under the head of its effect. And Prayer it ſelf is made at length not to be ſo much a *Moral Vertue*, as ſomewhat inſtrumental to the vertues of Morality.

Secondly, I cannot think we have here a compleat Repreſentation of Chriſtian Religion, nor an induction of all its particulars, becauſe we have neither Suppoſition nor Aſſertion of Sin, or a *Redeemer*, or of any Duty with reſpect unto them. *Gratitude* and *Prayer* I confeſs are two heads, whereunto ſundry Duties of Natural Religion without reſpect unto theſe things may be reduced. But ſince the fall of *Adam*, there was never any Religion in the world accepted

acceepted with God, that was not built and founded on the ſuppoſition of them, and whoſe principal Duties towards God did not reſpect them. To preſcribe now unto us a Religion as it reſpects God, without thoſe Duties which ariſe from the conſideration of ſin, and a Redeemer, is to perſwade us to throw away our Bibles. Sin, and the condition of all men on the account thereof, their Duty in that condition, what God requires of them with reference thereunto, the way that God hath found out, propoſed, and requires of us to make uſe of, that we may be delivered from that condition, with the duties neceſſary to that end, do even conſtitute and make up that Religion which the Scripture teacheth us, and which, as it ſummarily expreſſeth it ſelf, conſiſts in Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; neither of which, nor ſcarce any thing that belongs unto them, appears in this Scheme; ſo that

Thirdly, The moſt important duties of Chriſtian Religion are here not only omitted, but excluded. Where ſhall we find any place here to introduce Repentance; and as belonging thereunto Conviction of Sin, Humiliation, Godly Sorrow, Converſion it ſelf to God? For my part I will never

never be of that Religion where theſe duties towards God have no place. Faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all that is neceſſary to it, preparatory for it, included in it, and conſequentiall on it, are in like manner caſt out of the verge of Religious duties here *ſchematized*. An endeavour to fly from the wrath to come, to receive Jeſus Chriſt, to accept of the attonement, to ſeek after the forgiveneſs of ſins by him (that we may cant a little) and to give up our ſouls in univerſal Obedience to all his commands, belong alſo to the duties of that Religion towards God which the Scripture preſcribeth unto us; but here they appear not in the leaſt intimation of them. No more do the duties which though generally included in the Law of loving God above all, yet are preſcribed and determined in the Goſpel alone. Such are *ſelf-denyal*, readineſs to *take up the Croſs*, and the like. Beſides all the duties wherein our Chriſtian conflict againſt our Spiritual Adverſaries doth conſiſt, and in eſpecial the whole of our duty towards God in the mortification of ſin, can be of no conſideration there, where no ſuppoſition of ſin is made or allowed. But there would be no end if all exceptions of this nature, that readily offer themſelves, might here have

have admittance. If this be the Religion of our Adverſaries in theſe things, if this be a perfect Scheme of its Duties towards God, and induction of all its particulars; let our Author inſult over, and reproach them whilſt he pleaſeth, who blame it as inſufficient without Grace and Godlineſs: I would not be in the condition of them who truſt their eternal concernments to meer Obſervance of it; as knowing that there is no name under Heaven given unto men whereby they may be ſaved, but only the name of Jeſus Chriſt. It will be in vain pretended, that it is not a deſcription of Chriſtian Religion, but of Religion, as Religion in general, that is here attempted. For beſides that, it is Chriſtian Religion, and that as uſed and practiſed by Chriſtians, which is alone under conſideration; and an Introduction of Religion here under any other notion would be grievouſly inconſiſtent and incoherent with the whole Diſcourſe. It is acknowledged by our Author in the progreſs of his Diſputation as was before obſerved, when he gives a Reaſon why *Moral Vertue* is ſtiled Grace, which is peculiar and appropriate to Chriſtian Religion alone. Beſides, to talk now of a Religion in the World, which either hath been, or may be, ſince the

the fall of *Adam* without reſpect unto ſin, is to build Caſtles in the air. All the Religion that God now requires, preſcribes, accepts, that is or can be, is the Religion of *Sinners*, or of thoſe who are ſuch, and of them *as ſuch*, though alſo under other qualifications. On many accounts therefore this *ſcheme of Religion* or Religious Duties towards God, is exceedingly inſufficient and imperfect. To lay it therefore as a Foundation whereon to ſtand, and revile them who plead for a ſuperaddition unto it of Grace and Godlineſs, is an undertaking from whence no great ſucceſs is to be expected.

I can eaſily ſupply another *Scheme of Religion* in the room of this, which though it have not any ſuch contexture of method, nor is ſet out with ſuch *gaudy words* as thoſe which our Author hath at his diſpoſal, yet I am confident in the confeſſion of all Chriſtians ſhall give a better account than what is here offered unto us both of the Religion we profeſs, and of the Duties that God requires therein; and this taken out of one Epiſtle of St. *Paul*; namely, that to the *Romans*. And I ſhall do it as things come to mind in the haſte wherein I am writing. He then gives us his *Scheme* to this purpoſe. As Firſt, That all

all Men *ſinned in Adam*, came ſhort of the Glory of God, and rendred themſelves liable to death and the whole curſe of the Law. Then, that they do all, as left to themſelves accumulate their Original Sin and Tranſgreſſion, with a world of actual ſins, and provocations of God. That againſt Men in this condition, God teſtifies his wrath and diſpleaſure, both in his works and by his word. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that the *firſt Duty* of *Man* towards God is to be ſenſible of this condition, of the guilt of ſin, with a fear of the wrath and judgement due to them. Then he informs us, that neither the *Jews* by the Law, nor the Gentiles by the light of Nature, could diſentangle themſelves from this ſtate, or do that which is pleaſing unto God, ſo as they might obtain forgiveneſs of Sin and acceptation with him. This beſpeaks unto all the great *Duty towards God*, of their acknowledgement unto him, of their miſerable and helpleſs condition, with all thoſe Affections and ſubordinate Duties, wherewith it is attended. In this ſtate he declares, that God himſelf in his Infinite Wiſdome, Goodneſs and Grace, provided a Remedy, a way of relief; on which he hath put ſuch an impreſſion of his Glorious Excellencies as

the fall of *Adam* without reſpect unto ſin, is to build Caſtles in the air. All the Religion that God now requires, preſcribes, accepts, that is or can be, is the Religion of *Sinners*, or of thoſe who are ſuch, and of them *as ſuch*, though alſo under other qualifications. On many accounts therefore this *ſcheme of Religion* or Religious Duties towards God, is exceedingly inſufficient and imperfect. To lay it therefore as a Foundation whereon to ſtand, and revile them who plead for a ſuperaddition unto it of Grace and Godlineſs, is an undertaking from whence no great ſucceſs is to be expected.

I can eaſily ſupply another *Scheme of Religion* in the room of this, which though it have not any ſuch contexture of method, nor is ſet out with ſuch *gaudy words* as thoſe which our Author hath at his diſpoſal, yet I am confident in the confeſſion of all Chriſtians ſhall give a better account than what is here offered unto us both of the Religion we profeſs, and of the Duties that God requires therein; and this taken out of one Epiſtle of St. *Paul*; namely, that to the *Romans*. And I ſhall do it as things come to mind in the haſte wherein I am writing. He then gives us his *Scheme* to this purpoſe. As Firſt, That all

all Men *ſinned in Adam*, came ſhort of the Glory of God, and rendred themſelves liable to death and the whole curſe of the Law. Then, that they do all, as left to themſelves accumulate their Original Sin and Tranſgreſſion, with a world of actual ſins, and provocations of God. That againſt Men in this condition, God teſtifies his wrath and diſpleaſure, both in his works and by his word. Hence it neceſſarily follows, that the *firſt Duty* of *Man* towards God is to be ſenſible of this condition, of the guilt of ſin, with a fear of the wrath and judgement due to them. Then he informs us, that neither the *Jews* by the Law, nor the Gentiles by the light of Nature, could diſentangle themſelves from this ſtate, or do that which is pleaſing unto God, ſo as they might obtain forgiveneſs of Sin and acceptation with him. This beſpeaks unto all the great *Duty towards God*, of their acknowledgement unto him, of their miſerable and helpleſs condition, with all thoſe Affections and ſubordinate Duties, wherewith it is attended. In this ſtate he declares, that God himſelf in his Infinite Wiſdome, Goodneſs and Grace, provided a Remedy, a way of relief; on which he hath put ſuch an impreſſion of his Glorious Excellencies as

may ſtirr up the hearts of his Creatures, to endeavour a return unto him from their Apoſtaſie; and that this remedy conſiſts in his *ſetting forth Jeſus Chriſt to be a propitiation through Faith in his blood, to declare his Righteouſneſs for the forgiveneſs of Sin*; which he propoſeth unto Men for their receiving and acceptance. This renders it the *greateſt duty* of mankind towards God, *to believe in the Son of God* ſo ſet forth, to ſeek after an Intereſt in him, or being made partaker of him; for this is the great work that God requires, namely that we believe on him whom he hath ſent. Again, he declares that God juſtifieth them who ſo believe, pardoning their ſins, and imputing Righteouſneſs unto them; whereon innumerable Duties do depend, even all the Obedience that Chriſt requires of us; ſeeing in our believing in him, we accept him to be our King to rule, govern and conduct our ſouls to God. And all theſe are Religious duties towards God. He declares moreover, that whereas Men are by Nature *dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*, and ſtand in need of a new ſpiritual life, to be born again, that they may live unto God; that God in Jeſus Chriſt doth by his ſpirit quicken them, and regenerate them, and work in them a new principle of ſpiritual

ritual life; whence it is their great Duty towards God (in this Religion of St. *Paul*) to comply with, and to yield obedience, unto all the wayes and methods that God is pleased to use in the accomplishment of this work upon them, the *especial Duties* whereof are too many to be instanced in. But he further manifests, that notwithstanding the *Regeneration of Men* by the Spirit, and their Conversion to God, there yet continues in them a remainder of the *Principle of corrupted nature*, which he calls the *flesh*, *and Indwelling Sin*, that is of it self wholly *enmity against God*, and as far it abides in any, inclines the heart and mind unto sin, which is to be watched against and opposed. And on this head, he introduceth the great Religious Duty towards God of our spiritual conflict against sin, and of the mortification of it, wherein those that believe are to be exercised all the dayes of their lives, and wherein their principal duty towards God doth consist, and without which they can perform no other in a due manner. Moreover he farther adds the great Gospel-Priviledge of the Communication of the Spirit of Christ unto Believers, for their Sanctification, Consolation, and Edification; with the Duties of Thankfulness towards God,

Joy and Rejoycing in him, Cheerfulneſs under Tryals, Afflictions, and Perſecutions, and ſundry others that on that account are required of us, all Religious Duties towards God, in the Religion by him propoſed unto us. Having laid theſe foundations, and manifeſted how they all proceed from the Eternal Counſel and free Grace of God, in which it is our Duty to admire, adore, and praiſe him, he declareth how hereby and on the account of theſe things, we are bound unto all Holineſs, Righteouſneſs, Godlineſs, Honeſty, and Uſefulneſs in this world, in all Relations and Conditions whatſoever; declaring our Duties in Churches, according to our eſpecial intereſt in them, towards Believers; and towards all *Men* in the World in our ſeveral Relations; in Obedience to *Magiſtrates*; and all ſuperiors; in a word in univerſal obſervance of the whole will and all the commands of God. Now whither any one will call this a *Scheme* or no, or allow it to have any thing of *Method* in it or no, I neither know nor care; but am perſwaded that it makes a better, more plain, and intelligible Repreſentation of the Religious Duties towards God which Chriſtian Religion, requires of us, unto all that ſuppoſe this whole Religion to depend on Divine Revelation, than that of

of our Author. But I find my ſelf in a digreſſion; the end of this Diſcourſe was only to manifeſt the Sentiments of our Author, on the ſecond head before laid down, which I think are ſufficiently evinced.

The third is, That there is no actual work of preſent Grace, either to fit the Perſons, of whom, theſe Duties of *Moral* Vertues are required, unto the performance of them, or to work and effect them in them. For although they are *called Graces*, and the Graces of the Spirit, in the Scripture, yet that is upon another account; as he declares himſelf, pag. 72. *All that the Scripture intends by the Graces of the Spirit, are only Vertuous qualities of the Soul that are therefore ſtiled Graces, becauſe they are derived purely from God's free-Grace and Goodneſs, in that in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, he was pleaſed out of his infinite concern for its propagation, in a miraculous manner to inſpire its Converts with all ſorts of Vertue.* Vertuous Qualities of the ſoul, is a very ambigious expreſſion. Take theſe Vertuous Qualities, for a new principle of Spiritual life, conſiſting in the habitual Diſpoſition, Inclination, and Ability of mind unto the things required of us in the will of God, or unto the Acts of Religious Obedience, and it may expreſs the Graces of the

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Spirit; which yet are far enough from being so called upon the account here mentioned. But these Vertuous Qualities, are to be interpreted according to the tenour of the preceding Discourses, that have already passed under Examination. Let now our Author produce any one Writer of the Church of God, from first to last, of any repute or Acceptation, from the day that the name of Christian was known in the World, unto this wherein we live, giving us this account why the fruits of the Spirit, the Vertuous or Gracious qualities of the minds of Believers, are called Graces that here he gives, and I will give him my thanks publickly for his discovery. For if this be the only Reason why any thing in Believers is called *Grace*, why Vertues are Graces, namely because God *was pleased in the first Ages of Christianity miraculously to inspire its Converts with all sorts of Vertue*, then there is no Communication of Grace unto any, no work of Grace in and upon any, in an ordinary way, through the Ministry of the Gospel, in these latter Ages. The whole Being, and efficacy of Grace, according to this notion, is to be confined unto the miraculous Operations of God in Gospel concernments, in the *first Ages*, whence a denomination

nomination in the Scripture is caſt upon our Vertues, when obtained and exerciſed by and in our own ſtrength. Now this plainly *overthrows the whole Goſpel*, and contains a *Pelagianiſme* that *Pelagius* himſelf never did, nor durſt avow.

Are theſe things then ſo indeed? that God did from his free Grace and Goodneſs, miraculouſly inſpire the firſt Converts of Chriſtianity with all ſorts of Vertues, but that He doth not ſtill continue to put forth in any, actually, the Efficacy of his Grace, to make them Gracious, Holy, Believing, Obedient to himſelf, and to work in them all ſuitable actings towards himſelf and others? Then farewell Scripture, the Covenant of Grace, the Interceſſion of Chriſt, yea all the Ancient Fathers, Counſels, Schoolmen, and moſt of the *Jeſuites* themſelves. Many have been the diſputes amongſt Chriſtians about the Nature of Grace, the Rule of its Diſpenſation, the manner and way of its Operation, its Efficacy, Concurrence, and Co-operation in the Wills of men; but that there is no diſpenſation of it, no operation but what was miraculous in the firſt Converts of the Goſpel, was I think untill now undiſcovered. Nor can it be here pretended, that although the Vertuous qua-

lities of our minds and their Exerciſe, by which is intended all the Obedience that God requireth of us, in Principle and Practice, that we may pleaſe him, and come to the enjoyment of him, are not ſaid to be called Graces, *only*, on the account mentioned; For as in reſpect of us, they are not ſo termed at all, ſo if the term *only* be not underſtood, the whole diſcourſe is impertinent and ridiculous. For thoſe other Reaſons and Accounts that may be taken in, will render that given utterly uſeleſs unto our Authors intention, and indeed are altogether inconſiſtent with it. And he hath given us no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he talks after ſuch a weak and prepoſterous a rate. This then is that which is here aſſerted, the Qualities of our minds and their Exerciſe wherein the Vertues pleaded about, and affirmed to contain the whole Subſtance of Religion, do conſiſt, are not wrought in us by the Grace or Spirit of God through the Preaching of the Goſpel, but are only called Graces, as before. Now though here be a plain contradiction to what is delivered but two pages before, namely, *that we pray for ſome or other Vertuous qualities*, that is doubtleſs to be wrought in us by the Grace of God; yet this preſent diſcourſe is capable of no other

other interpretation but that given unto it. And indeed it ſeems to be the deſign of ſome men, to confine all real Gifts and Graces of the Spirit of God, to the firſt Ages of the Goſpel, and the miraculous operations in it; which is to overthrow the whole Goſpel, the Church, and the Miniſtry of it, as to their uſe and efficacy, leaving Men only the Book of the Bible to *Philoſophize* upon, as ſhall be elſewhere demonſtrated. Our Author indeed tells us, that on the occaſion of ſome mens writings in *Theology*, *there hath been a buzz and a noiſe of the Spirit of God in the World.* His expreſſions are exceedingly ſuited to pour contempt on what he doth not approve; not ſo to expreſs what he doth himſelf intend. But I deſire that he and others would ſpeak plain, and openly in this matter, that neither others may be deceived nor themſelves have occaſion to complain that they are miſ-repreſented; a pretence whereof would probably give them a diſpenſation to deal very roughly, if not deſpightfully with them with whom they ſhall have to do. Doth he therefore think or believe, that there are not now any real Gracious Operations of the Spirit of God, upon the hearts and minds of men in the world? that the diſpenſation of the Spirit

is ceaſed, as well unto ordinary Miniſterial Gifts, with its ſanctifying, renewing, aſſiſting Grace, as unto Gifts miraculous and extraordinary? that there is no work at all of God upon the hearts of Sinners, but that which is purely moral, and perſwaſive by the word? that what is aſſerted by ſome concerning the *Efficacy of the Grace* of the Spirit, and concerning his gifts, is no more but a *buzz and a noiſe?* I wiſh he would explain himſelf directly and poſitively in theſe things; for they are of great importance. And the looſe expreſſions which we meet with, do give great Offence unto ſome, who are apt to think, that as pernicious an Hereſie as ever infeſted the Church of God, may be covered and cloaked by them.

But to return; In the ſenſe that *Moral Vertue* is here taken, I dare boldly pronounce, that there is *no Villany in the Religion of thoſe men*, who diſtinguiſh *between Vertue and Grace*; that is, there not in their ſo doing; this being the known and avowed Religion of Chriſtianity. It is granted; that whereever Grace is, there is Vertue. For Grace will produce and effect all Vertues in the Soul whatever. But *Vertue* on the other ſide may be where there is no Grace, which is ſufficient to confirm a diſtinction

distinction between them. It was so in sundry of the Heathen of old; though now it be pretended that Grace is nothing but an occasional denomination of Vertue, not that it is the cause or principle of it. But the proofs produced by our Author are exceedingly incompetent unto the end whereunto they are applyed. For that place of the Apostle, Gal. 5. v. 22, 23. *The fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, meekness, Temperance*; Though our Author should be allowed to turn *Joy* into *cheerfulness*, *peace* into *peaceableness*, *Faith* into *Faithfulness*, as he hath done, corruptly enough, to accommodate it to his purpose, yet it will no way reach his end, nor satisfie his intention. For doth it follow that because the Spirit effects all these *Moral Vertues* in a new and gracious manner, and with a direction to a new and special end in Believers, either that these things are nothing but meer *Moral Vertues*, not wrought in us by the grace of God, (the contrary whereof is plainly asserted in calling them fruits of the Spirit) or that where-ever there is *Moral Vertue*, though not so wrought by the Spirit, that there is Grace also, because Vertue and Grace are the same? If these are the Expositions of Scripture

Scripture which we may expect from them, who make such out-cries against other mens, perverting and corrupting of it, the matter is not like to be much mended with us, for ought I can see, upon their taking of that work into their own hands. And indeed his Quotation of this place is pretty odd. He doth not in the Print express the words as he useth, and as he doth those of another Scripture immediately, in a different character, as the direct words of the Apostle, that no man may charge him with a false Allegation of the Text. Yet he repeats all the words of it which he intends to use to his purpose, somewhat altering the expressions. But he hath had, I fear, some unhappiness in his Explanations. By *Joy* he would have *Cheerfulness* intended. But what is meant by *cheerfulness* is much more uncertain than what is intended by Joy. *Mirth* it may be in Conversation is aimed at, or somewhat of that nature. But how remote this is from that *Spiritual Joy*, which is recommended unto us in the Scripture, and is affirmed to be *unspeakable and full of glory*, he that knows not, is scarce meet to *Paraphrase* upon St. *Paul's* Epistles. Neither is that *Peace* with God through Jesus Christ, which is wrought in the Hearts of Believers by the Holy Ghost, who

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creates the fruit of the lipps, peace, peace, unto them, a matter of any more affinity with a *Moral peaceableneſs* of mind and Affections. Our *Faith* alſo in God, and our Faithfulneſs in our Duties, Truſts, Offices and Employments, are ſufficiently diſtinct. So palpably muſt the Scripture be corrupted and wreſted to be made ſerviceable to this preſumption. He yet adds another proof to the ſame purpoſe, if any man know diſtinctly what that purpoſe is; namely, *Titus* 2. 11. Where he tells us that the ſame Apoſtle make the *Grace of God, to conſiſt in Gratitude towards God, Temperance towards our Selves, and Juſtice towards our Neighbours.* But theſe things are not ſo. For the Apoſtle doth not ſay that the *Grace of God doth conſiſt in theſe things*, but that the *Grace of God teacheth us theſe things.* Neither is the Grace here intended, any *Subjective* or *inherent Grace*, or to ſpeak with our Author any *Vertuous Quality* or Vertue, but the Love and Grace of God himſelf, in ſending Jeſus Chriſt as declared in the Goſpel, was is manifeſt in the words and context beyond contradiction. And I cannot but wonder, how our Author deſirous to prove that the whole of our Religion conſiſts in *Moral Vertues*, and theſe only called Graces becauſe of the Miraculous Operati-

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ons of God from his own Grace in the firſt Goſpel converts, ſhould endeavour to do it by theſe two teſtimonies; the firſt whereof expreſly aſſigns the *Duties of Morality* as in Believers, to the operation of the Spirit, and the latter in his judgment makes them to proceed from Grace.

Our laſt inquiry is into what he aſcribes unto his Adverſaries in this matter, and how he deals with them thereupon. This therefore he informs us pag. 71. *It is not enough ſay they to be compleatly vertuous, unleſs ye have grace too.* I can ſcarce believe that ever he heard any one of them ſay ſo, or ever read it in any of their writings. For there is nothing that they are more poſitive in, than that men cannot in any ſenſe be *compleatly vertuous* unleſs they have grace; and ſo cannot ſuppoſe them to be ſo, who have it not. They ſay indeed, that moral vertues, as before deſcribed, ſo far as they are attainable by, or may be exerciſed in the ſtrength of Mens own wills and natural faculties, are not enough to pleaſe God and to make men accepted with him. So that vertue as it may be without Grace, and ſome vertues may be ſo for the ſubſtance of them, is not available unto ſalvation. And I had almoſt ſaid that he is no Chriſtian that is of another mind. In a word;

word, Vertue is, or may be without Grace, in all or any of the Acceptations of it before laid down. Where it is without the Favour of God and the Pardon of ſin, where it is without the renewing of our natures, and the endowment of our Perſons with a Principle of ſpiritual life, where it is not wrought in us by preſent efficacious Grace, it is not enough; nor will *ſerve any mans turn* with reſpect unto the everlaſting concernments of his Soul.

But he gives in his Exceptions, pag. 71. *But when*, ſaith he, *we have ſet aſide all manner of vertue, let them tell me what remains to be called Grace, and give me any notion of it diſtinct from all morality, that conſiſts in the right order and government of our actions in all our Relations, and ſo comprehends all our Duty; and therefore if Grace be not included in it, it is but a phantaſme and an imaginary thing.* I ſay *firſt*; where Grace is, we cannot *ſet aſide vertue*, becauſe it will and doth produce and effect it in the minds of men. But Vertue may be, where Grace is not, in the ſenſe ſo often declared. *Secondly*, Take *moral vertue* in the notion of it here received and explained by our Author, and I have given ſundry Inſtances before, of *Gracious Duties*, that come not within the verge or compaſs of the *Scheme* given us of it.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, The whole aimed at lies in this; that vertue that governs our actions in all our Duties may be conſidered either as the Duty we owe to the Law of nature, for the ends of it, to be performed in the ſtrength of nature, and by the direction of it, or it may be conſidered as it is an eſpecial effect of the grace of God in us, which gives it a new principle, and a new end, and a new reſpect unto the Covenant of Grace Wherein we walk with God, the conſideration whereof fruſtrates the intention of our Author in this diſcourſe.

But he renews his charge, pag. 73. *So deſtructive of all true and real goodneſs is the very Religion of thoſe men, that are wont to ſet grace at odds with vertue; and are ſo farr from making them the ſame, that they make them inconſiſtent; and though a man be exact in all the duties of moral goodneſs, yet if he be a graceleſs perſon* (i. e. *void of I know not what imaginary Godlineſs*) *he is but in a cleaner way to Hell; and his converſion is more hopeleſs than the vileſt and moſt notorious ſinners, and the morally Righteous man is at a greater diſtance from grace, than the prophane; and better be leud and debauched than live an honeſt and vertuous life, if you are not of the Godly Party*; with much more to this purpoſe. For the men that are

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wont to ſet grace at odds with vertue, and are ſo far from making them the ſame, that they make them inconſiſtent; I wiſh our Author would diſcover them, that he might take us along with him in his deteſtation of them. It is not unlikely, if all be true that is told of them, but that the *Gnoſticks* might have ſome principles not unlike this; but beſide them I never heard of any that were of this mind in the world. And in truth the liberty that is taken in theſe diſcourſes, is a great inſtance of the *morality* under conſideration. But the following words will direct us where theſe things are charged. For ſome ſay, that if *a man be exact in all the Duties of moral Goodneſs, yet if he be a Graceleſs Perſon, void of I know not what imaginary Godlineſs, he is but in a cleaner way to Hell.* I think I know both what, and who are intended, and that both are dealt withal with that candour we have been now accuſtomed unto. But Firſt, you will ſcarce find thoſe you intend over forward in granting that men may be *exact in all the Duties of Moral goodneſs*, and yet be *graceleſs* perſons. For taking *Moral vertues* to comprehend, as you do, their duties toward God, they will tell you ſuch Perſons cannot perform one of them aright, much leſs *all of them*

exactly. For they can neither *truſt in God*, no *believe* him, nor *fear* him, nor *glorifie* him in a due manner. Take the Duties of moral Goodneſs, for the duties of the Law between man and man, and the obſervation of the outward Duties of Gods worſhip, and they ſay indeed, that they may be ſo performed as that in reſpect of them, men may be *blameleſs*, and yet be *Graceleſs*. For that account if they miſtake not the Apoſtle *Paul* gives of himſelf. *Phil.* 3. 6, 7, 8. They do ſay therefore that many of theſe Duties, ſo as to be uſeful in the world, and blameleſs before men, they may perform who are yet Graceleſs. *Thirdly*, This *Graceleſſneſs* is ſaid to conſiſt in being *void of I know not what imaginary Godlineſs*. No, no; It is to be void *of the Spirit of* God, of the Grace of Chriſt, not to be born again, not to have a new ſpiritual life in Chriſt, not to be united to him, or ingrafted in him, not to be accepted and made an heir of God, and enabled to a due Spiritual Evangelical performance of all Duties of Obedience, according to the tenour of the Covenant; theſe are the things intended. And as many with their *moral Duties* may come ſhort of them and be Graceleſs; ſo thoſe to whom they are *imaginary*, muſt reject the whole Goſpel of Chriſt as an *imagina-*

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tion. And I must say, to give matter of a new charge, that to the best Observation that I have been able to make in the world, none have been, nor are more negligent in the principal Duties of morality, than those who are aptest to exalt them above the Gospel, and the whole Mystery of it; unless *morality* do consist in such a course of life and Conversation, as I will not at present charactarize.

It is farther added, that the *conversation of such a one, is more hopeless than the vilest and most notorious Sinners*; and *the morally Righteous man*, &c. Setting aside the inviduous expression of what is here reflected upon, and there is nothing more openly taught in the Gospel. The *Pharisees* were a People *morally Righteous*, whereon they trusted to themselves that they were Righteous; and yet our Lord Jesus Christ told them, that *Publicans and Harlots*, the vilest and most notorious of Sinners, entred before them into the Kingdom of God. And where Men trust to their own Righteousness, their own Duties, be they moral or what they will, there are no Men farther from the way of the Gospel than they. Nay our Saviour lets us know, that as such, the Gospel is not concerned in them, nor they in it. He

came not, he ſayes, *to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance*; not Men juſtifying, or lifting up themſelves in a conceit of their *moral Duties*, but thoſe who are burdened and laden with a ſenſe of their ſins. And ſo in like manner, that *the whole have no need of the Phyſitian but the ſick*; and St. *Paul* declares what *Enemies they were to the Righteouſneſs of God, who went about to ſet up their own Righteouſneſs*; Rom. 10. Now becauſe *moral Duties* are incumbent on all Perſons, at all times, they are continually to be preſſed upon all, from a ſenſe of the Authority, and command of God, indiſpenſibly requiring all Mens attendance unto them. Yet ſuch is the deceitfulneſs of the heart of Man, and the power of unbelief, that oftentimes Perſons who through their Education, or following convictions, have been brought to ſome obſervance of them, and being not enlightned in their minds to diſcern their inſufficiency unto the great end of ſalvation, in and of themſelves, are apt to take up with them, and to reſt in them without ever coming to ſincere Repentance towards God, or faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; Whereas others, the guilt of whoſe ſins doth unavoidably preſs upon them, as it did on the *Publicans and Sinners of old*,

old, are oft times more ready to look out after relief. And those who question these things, do nothing but manifest their ignorance in the Scripture, and want of experience in the work of the Ministry. But yet upon the account of the charge mentioned, so unduly framed, and impotently managed, our Author makes an excursion into such an extravagancy of reproaches, as is scarce exceeded in his whole Book: Part of it I have considered before in our view of his *Preface*; and I am now so used to the noise and bluster wherewith he pours out the storm of his Indignation, that I am altogether inconcerned in it, and cannot prevail with my self to give it any further consideration.

These things though not direct to the Argument in hand, and which on that account might have been neglected; yet supposing that the Author placed as much of his design in them, as in any part of his Discourse, I could not wholly omit the consideration of; not so much out of a desire for their vindication who are unduly traduced in them, as to plead for the Gospel it self, and to lay a foundation of a further defence of the Truths of it, if ocasiou shall so require. And we have also here an insight into the Judg-

ment of our Author, or his miſtake in this matter. He tells us that it is better to *tollerate debaucheries and immoralities*, than liberty of conſcience, for men to worſhip God according to their light and perſwaſion. Now all Religion according to him, conſiſting in *morality*, to tollerate *immoralities* and *debauckeries* in converſation, is plainly to tollerate *Atheiſm*; which it ſeems is more eligible than to grant liberty of conſcience, unto them who differ from the preſent eſtabliſhment, only as to ſome things belonging to the outward worſhip of God.

Theſe things being premiſed, the Argument it ſelf pleaded in this Chap. is capable of a ſpeedy diſpatch. It is to this purpoſe. *The Magiſtrate hath power over the conſciences of men in reference to Morals, or Moral Vertues, which are the principal things in Religion, and therefore much more hath ſo in reference to the Worſhip of God, which is of leſs importance.* We have complained before of the ambiguity of theſe general terms, but it is to no purpoſe to do ſo any more, ſeeing we are not like to be relieved in this diſcourſe. Let us then take things as we find them, and ſatisfie our ſelves in the intention of the Author, by that Declaration which he makes of it up and down the Chap. But yet here we

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are at a loſs alſo. When he ſpeaks, or ſeems to ſpeak to this purpoſe, whether in the confirmation of the Propoſition, or the Inference, whereof his Argument conſiſts, what he ſayes is caſt into ſuch an inter-texture with invectives and reproaches, and expreſſed in ſuch a looſe declamatory manner, as it is hard to diſcover or find out what it is that he intends. Suppoſe therefore in the firſt place, that a Man ſhould call his conſequent into queſtion; namely that becauſe the Magiſtrate hath power over the Conſciences of his ſubjects *in morals*, that therefore he hath ſo alſo in matters of *Inſtituted Worſhip*? how will he confirm and vindicate it? Two things are all I can obſerve that are offered in the confirmation of it. *Firſt*, That *theſe things of morality, moral Vertues, are of more importance in Religion than the outward worſhip of God*, which the amplitude of power before aſſerted, is now reducing to a reſpect unto. *Secondly*, That *there is much more danger of his erring and miſtaking in things of morality, than in things of outward Worſhip, becauſe of their great weight and importance.* Theſe things are pleaded, *p.* 28. And elſewhere up and down. That any thing elſe is offered, in the confirmation of this conſequent I find

not. And it may be ſome will think theſe proofs to be very weak and feeble, unable to ſuſtain the weight that is laid upon them. For it is certain that the firſt Rule, that he that hath power over the Greater, hath ſo over the Leſſer, doth not hold unleſs it be in things of the ſame nature and kind; and it is no leſs certain and evident, that there is an eſpecial and formal difference between theſe things, namely moral Vertues, and Inſtituted Worſhip; the one depending as to their Being and diſcovery on the light of Nature, and the dictates of that Reaſon which is common to all, and ſpeakes the ſame language in the Conſciences of all mankind; the other on pure Revelation, which may be, and is variouſly apprehended. Hence it is, that whereas there is no *difference* in the world about what is Vertue and what is not, there is no *Agreement* about what belongs to divine Worſhip and what doth not.

Again; *leſſer things* may be exempted from that Power and Authority by eſpecial priviledge or Law, which hath the diſpoſal of *greater* committed unto it, and inſtruſted with it. As the Magiſtrate amongſt us, may take away the life of a Man, which is the greateſt of his concernments, the name of his all, for fellony, but cannot take

take away his Estate or Inheritance of Land, which is a far less concernment unto him, if it be antecedently setled by Law to other uses than his own. And if it cannot be proved that the disposal of the Worship of God, as to what doth really and truly belong unto it, and all the parts of it, is exempted from all humane Power by special Law and Priviledge, let it be disposed of as who so will, shall judge meet.

Nor is the latter consideration suggested to inforce this consequent of any more validity; namely, *that there is more danger of the Magistrates erring or mistakes about Moral Vertue, than about Rites of Worship*; because that is of most concernment in Religion. For it is true, that suppose a Man to walk on the top of an high house or Tower, on a plain floor with battlements or Walls round about him, there will be more danger of breaking his neck, if he should fall from thence, than if he should fall from the top of a narrow wall that had not the fourth part of the heighth of the house. But there would not be so much *danger of falling*. For from the top of the house as circumstantiated, he cannot fall, unless he will wilfully and violently cast himself down headlong; and

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on the top of the Wall, it may be, he cannot ſtand, with the utmoſt of his heed and endeavours. The Magiſtrate cannot miſtake about Moral Vertues unleſs he will do it wilfully. They have their ſtation fixed in the world, on the ſame ground and evidence with Magiſtracy it ſelf. The ſame evidence, the ſame common conſent and ſuffrage of mankind is given unto Moral Vertues, as is to any Government in the World. And to ſuppoſe a ſupream Magiſtrate, a Law-giver, to miſtake in theſe things, in judging whether Juſtice, and Temperance, or Fortitude, be Vertues or no, and that in their Legiſlative capacity, is ridiculous. Neither *Nero* nor *Caligula* were ever in danger of any ſuch miſ-adventure. All the Magiſtrates in the World at this day, are agreed about theſe things. But as to what concerns the Worſhip of God, they are all at variance. There is no ſuch Evidence in theſe things, no ſuch common ſuffrage about them, as to free any abſolutely from failings and miſtakes; ſo that in reſpect of them, and not of the other, lyes the principal danger of miſcarrying, as to their determination and adminiſtration. Suppoſing therefore the Premiſes our Author layes down to be true, his Inference from them is feeble, and obnoxious

noxious to various impeachments, whereof I have given ſome few Inſtances only, which ſhall be increaſed if occaſion require.

But the Aſſertion it ſelf which is the foundation of theſe conſequences, is utterly remote from Accuracy and Truth. It is ſaid that the *Magiſtrate hath power over the Conſciences of Men in reference unto Moral Duties, which are the principal parts of Religion.* Our firſt and moſt difficult inquiry, is after the meaning of this Propoſition, the later after its truth. I aſk then, firſt whether he hath power over the Conſciences of men with reſpect unto *Moral* Vertue, and over *Moral* Vertue it ſelf, as Vertue, and as a part of Religion, or on ſome other account; If his power reſpect Vertue as a part of Religion, then it equally extends it ſelf to all that is ſo, by Vertue of a Rule which will not be eaſily everted. But it doth not appear that it ſo extends it ſelf as to plead an obliging Authority in reference unto all Duties. For let but the *Scheme of Moral Duties*, eſpecially thoſe whoſe Object is God, given us by our Author be conſidered, and it will quickly be diſcerned how many of them are exempted from all humane cognizance and Authority; and that from

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and by their nature as well as their Uſe in the World. And it is in vain to aſcribe an authority to *Magiſtrates* which they have no power to exert, or take cognizance whether it be obeyed or no. And what can they do therein with reſpect unto *Gratitude to God*, which holds the firſt place in the *Scheme of Moral Vertues* here given in unto us. We are told alſo, p. 83. *That in matters both of Moral Vertue, and Divine Worſhip, there are ſome rules of Good and Evil that are of an Eternal and unchangeable obligation*, and *theſe can never be prejudiced or altered by any humane power, becauſe the reaſon of their Obligation ariſes from a neceſſity and conſtitution of nature, and therefore muſt be as perpetual as that*; *but then there are other rules of Duty that are alterable according to the various accidents changes and conditions of humane life, and depend chiefly upon contracts and poſitive Laws of Kingdoms.* It would not be unworthy our inquiry to conſider what rules of *Moral* Duty they are, which are *alterable* and depend on accidents and contracts. But we might eaſily find work enough, ſhould we call all ſuch fond Aſſertions to a juſt examination. Neither doth the diſtinction here given us between *various Rules* of Moral Vertue, very well anſwer what we are told, p. 69.

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namely, *that every particular Vertue is therefore such, because it is a resemblance and imitation of some of the Divine Attributes*, which I suppose they are not, whose *Rules* and *formes* are alterable upon accidents and occasions. And we are taught also, *pag.* 68. that *the practice of Vertue consists in living suitable to the dictates of Reason and Nature*; which are Rules not variable and Changeable. There must be some new distinction to reconcile these things, which I cannot at present think of. That which I would enquire from hence is, whether the Magistrates have power over the Consciences of men in reference unto those things in *Mo*rality, whose Rules of good and evil are of an Eternal obligation. That he hath not is evidently implyed in this place. And I shall not enter into the confusion of the ensuing Discourse, where the latter sort of Rules for Vertue, the other member of the distinction, are turned into various Methods of executing Laws about outward acts of Vertue or Vice; and the Vertues themselves into outward expressions and significations of Duty; for I have at present no contest with this Author about his manner of writing, nor do intend to have. It is enough that here at once all the principal and most important

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portant Vertues are vindicated to their own unalterable Rules as ſuch, and the Conſciences of *Men* in reference unto them put under another juriſdiction. And what then becomes of this Argument, That the *Magiſtrate* muſt have power over the Conſciences of Men in matters of Divine Worſhip, becauſe he hath ſo in things *Moral* which are of greater importance, when what is ſo of importance, is exempted from his power.

Hence it ſufficiently, appears that the Authority of the *Magiſtrate* over men, with reference unto *Moral* Vertue and Duty, doth not reſpect Vertue as Vertue, but hath ſome other conſideration. Now what this is, is evident unto all. How *Moral* Vertues do belong unto Religion and are parts of it, hath been before declared. But God who hath ordered all things in weight and meaſure, hath foredeſigned them alſo to another end and purpoſe. For preparing mankind for Political Society in the world among themſelves for a time, as well as for Religious Obedience unto himſelf, he inlayed his nature and compoſition with principles ſuited to both thoſe ends, and appointed them to be acted with different reſpects unto them. Hence *Moral* Vertues notwithſtanding

withſtanding their peculiar tendency unto him, are appointed to be the inſtrument and ligament of humane Society alſo. As the Law of *Moſes* had in it a *typical end*, uſe, and ſignification, with reſpect to Chriſt and the Goſpel, and a *political* uſe as the inſtrument of the Government of the Nation of the Jews. Now the Power of the *Ma*giſtrate in reſpect of *Mo*ral Vertues, is in their latter uſe; namely, as they relate to humane policy, which is concerned in the outward actings of them. This therefore is granted; and we ſhall enquire farther whether any more be proved, namely, that the *Ma*giſtrate hath power over the outward actings of Vertue and Vice, ſo far as humane Society or publick Tranquility is concerned in them, and on that account.

Secondly, It may be enquired what is the Power and Authority over *Mo*ral Vertues, which is here aſcribed unto the Civil *Ma*giſtrate, and over the Conſciences of men, with reſpect unto them. Is it ſuch as to make that to be Vertue which was not Vertue before, or which was Vice, and oblige men in Conſcience to practiſe it as Vertue? This would go a great way indeed, and anſwer ſomewhat of what is, or as it is ſaid, may be done

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in the Worſhip of God, when that is made a part of it which was not ſo before. But what name ſhall theſe new Vertues be called by? A new Vertue both as to its Acts and Objects, will as much fly the imaginations of men, as a ſixth ſenſe doth. It may be our Author will ſatisfie us as to this enquiry; for he tells us, *pag.* 80. That he hath power *to make that a particular of the Divine Law, that God hath not made ſo.* I wiſh he had declared himſelf how, and wherein; for I am afraid this expreſſion as here it lyes, is offenſive. The Divine Law is Divine, and ſo is every *particular* of it: and how a man can make a thing *Divine*, that is not ſo of it ſelf, nor by Divine Inſtitution, is hard to find out. It may be that only the ſubject matter of the Law, and not the Law it ſelf formally is intended; and to make a thing *a particular of the Divine Law*, is no more but to make the Divine Law require, that in particular of a man which it did not require of him before. But this *Particular*, referrs to the Nature, Eſſence and Being of the thing, or to the acting, and occaſion of it in particular. And if it be taken in the latter ſenſe, here is no more aſcribed unto the *Magiſtrate*, than is common with him to every man in the World. For every one

one that puts himſelf into new circumſtances, or new Relations, doth ſo make that unto him to be a particular of the Divine Law, which was not ſo before; for he is bound and obliged unto the actual performance of many Duties, which as ſo circumſtantiated, he was not bou unto before.

But ſomewhat elſe ſeems to be intend from the enſuing diſcourſe; *they are fully empowered to declare new inſtances of Vertue and Vice, and to introduce new duties in th moſt important parts of Religion.* And y I am ſtill at the ſame loſs. For by his *declaring new Inſtances of Vertue and Vice*, ſuppoſe he intends an Authoritative declaration, ſuch as that they have no other foundation, nor need none to make them what they are. They are new Inſtances of Vertue and Vice, becauſe ſo declared. And this ſuits unto the *introducing of new Duties in the moſt important parts of Religion*, made Duties by that introduction. I wiſh I could yet learn what theſe *new Inſtances of Vertue and Vice* are, or mean. Whether they are new *as Vertues* and Vices, or as Inſtances. For the firſt, would I could ſee a new practice of old Virtues; but to tell you the truth, I care not for

any of the new Vertues, that I have lately obſerved in the World; nor do I hope ever to ſee any better new ones.

If it be the *Inſtances that are new*, I wiſh again I knew what were more in them, than the actual and occaſional exerciſe of old Duties. *Pag.* 79, 80. conduce moſt to extricate us out of theſe ambiguities. There we are informed, *that the Laws of every Nation do diſtinguiſh and ſettle mens rights, and properties, and that diſtinctly with reſpect whereunto, Juſtice, that prime Natural Vertue, is in particular Inſtances to be exerciſed.* And *pag.* 84. It is further declared, *that in the adminiſtration of Juſtice, there may be great difference in the conſtitution of penalties and execution of men.* This it ſeems is that which is aimed at; the Magiſtrate by his Laws determines, whteher *Titius* have ſet his hedge upon *Caius*'s *ground*; and whether *Sempronius* hath rightly conveyed his Land or Houſe, to his Son, or Neighbour, whereby what is juſt and lawfull in it ſelf, is accommodated to the uſe of political Society. He determines alſo how Perſons guilty of death ſhall be executed, and by whom, and in what manner; whence it muſt needs follow that he hath power to aſſign *new particulars of the Divine Law*, to

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declare new bounds, or hedges, of right and wrong, which the Law of God neither doth, nor can limit, or hath power over the Conſciences of men with reſpect to *Moral* Vertues; which was to be demonſtrated. Let us lay aſide theſe ſwelling expreſſions, and we ſhall find that all that can be aſcribed unto the Civil *Magiſtrate* in this matter, is no more, than to preſerve Property and Peace, by that Rule and power over the outward Actions of men, which is neceſſary thereunto.

Having made ſome enquiry into the termes of Moral Vertue and the *Magiſtrates* power, it remains only that we conſider what reſpect this caſe hath unto the Conſciences of men, with reference unto them. And I deſire to know whether all mankind, be not obliged in Conſcience to the Obſervation of all *Moral* Vertue, antecedently to the command or Authority of the *Magiſtrate*, who doth only inſpect their obſervation of them as to the concerns of publick peace and tranquility. Certainly if all *Moral* Vertue conſiſts in living ſuitable to the dictates of Reaſon, as we are told, and in a ſenſe rightly, if the Rule of them all and every one, which gives them their formal Nature, be the Law of our Creation, which all mankind

kind enter the World under an indiſpenſable obligation unto, it cannot be denyed but that there is ſuch an antecedent obligation on the Conſciences of *Men*, as that inquired after. But the things mentioned are granted by our Author; nor can by any be denyed, without offering the higheſt outrage to Scripture, Reaſon, and the common conſent of *Mankind*. Now if this Obligation be thus on all *Men*, unto all Vertue as Vertue, and this abſolutely from the Authority of God over them and their Conſciences, how comes an inferiour Authority to interpoſe it ſelf between that of God and their Conſciences, ſo immediately to oblige them. It is granted that when the *Magiſtrate* commandeth and requireth the exerciſe of any *Moral* Duty, in a way ſuited unto publick good and tranquility, he is to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake; becauſe he who is the Lord of Conſcience doth require *Men* to be obedient unto him, whereon they are obliged in Conſcience ſo to be. But if the things required of them be in themſelves *Moral* Duties, as they are ſuch, their Conſciences are obliged to obſerve and exerciſe them, from the command of God, and other obligation unto them as ſuch, they neither have nor can have. But the direction

rection and command for the exerciſe of them, in theſe and thoſe circumſtances, for the ends of publick Good whereunto they are directed, belongs unto the *Magiſtrate*, who is to be obeyed. For as in things meerly Civil, and which have nothing originally of morality in them, but ſecondarily only, as they tend to the preſervation and welfare of humane Society, which is a thing *Morally* good, the *Magiſtrate* is to be obeyed for Conſcience ſake, and the things themſelves as far as they partake of *Morality*, come directly under the command of God which affects the Conſcience; ſo in things that have an inherent and inſeparable *Morality*, and ſo reſpect God in the firſt place, when they come to have a civil Sanction in reference to their exerciſe unto publick political Good, that Sanction is to be obeyed out of Conſcience; but the antecedent obligation that was upon the Conſcience unto a due exerciſe of thoſe Duties, when made neceſſary by circumſtances, is not ſuperſeded, nor any new one added thereunto.

I know what is ſaid, but I find not as yet what is proved from theſe things, concerning the uncontroleable and abſolute power of the ſupream *Magiſtrate*, over Religion and the conſciences of men. Some things

are added indeed here up and down, about circumſtances of Divine Worſhip, and the power of ordering them by the *Magiſtrate*, which though there may be ſome different conceptions about, yet they no way reach the cauſe under debate. But as they are expreſſed by our Author, I know not of any one Writer in and of the Church of *England*, that hitherto hath ſo ſtated them, as they are by him. For he tells us *pag.* 85. That *all Rituals, Ceremonies, Poſtures and Manners of performing the outward expreſſions of Devotion, that are not chargeable with countenancing Vice or diſgracing the Deity, are capable of being adopted into the Miniſteries of Divine Service, and are not exempted from being Subject to the determinations of humane power.* Whether they are ſo or no, the *Magiſtrate* I preſume is to judge; or all this flouriſh of words and conceſſions of power, vaniſh into ſmoak. His command of them binds the Conſciences of men to obſerve them, according to the principle under conſideration. Hence it muſt be abſolutely in the power of every ſupream *Magiſtrate* to impoſe on the Chriſtian Subjects, a greater number of Ceremonious obſervances in the Worſhip of God, and thoſe of greater weight than ever were laid upon the Jews. For who knows

knows not that under the names of *Rituals, Ceremonies, Poſtures, manners of Performing all Divine Service*, what a burdenſome heap of things are impoſed in the *Roman* Church; whereunto as far as I know a thouſand more may be added, not chargeable in themſelves with either of the crimes, which alone are allowed to be put in, in Barr or Plea againſt them. And whether this be the Liberty whereunto Jeſus Chriſt hath vindicated his Diſciples and Church, is left unto the judgement of ſober men. Outward Religious Worſhip we know is to be performed by natural actions; theſe have their circumſtances, and thoſe oft-times becauſe of the publick concernments of the exerciſe of Religion, of great importance. Theſe may be ordered by the power, and according to the Wiſdome of thoſe in Authority. But that they ſhould make ſo many things, as this aſſertion allows them to make to belong unto, and to be Parts of the Worſhip of God, whereof not one is enjoyned or required by him, and the Conſciences of men be thereby obliged unto their obſervance; I do not believe, nor is it here at all proved.

To cloſe this Diſcourſe about the power of obliging the conſciences of men; I think our Author grants that Conſcience is im-

mediately obliged to the Obſervation of all things that are Good in themſelves, from the Law of our Creation. Such things as either the nature of God, or our own require from us, our Conſciences ſurely are obliged immediately by the Authority of God to obſerve. Nor can we have any diſpenſation for the non-performance of our Duty, from the interpoſition of the commands and Authority of any of the ſons of Men. For this would be openly and directly to ſet up men againſt God, and to advance them or their Authority above him or his. Things evidently deduced, and neceſſarily following the firſt Principles and Dictates of Nature, are of the ſame kind with themſelves, and have the Authority of God no leſs enſtamped on them than the other; and in reſpect unto them, Conſcience cannot by Vertue of inferiour commands, plead an exemption. Things of meer *Revelation* do remain; and concerning them I deſire to know, whether we are not bound to obſerve and do, whatever God in his *revealed Will* commands us to obſerve and do, and to abſtain from whatever he forbids, and this indiſpenſably? If this be denyed I will prove it with the ſame Arguments whereby I can prove that there is a God, and that we are his Creatures

tures made to ſerve him; For the Reaſon of theſe things is inſeparable from the very Being of God. Let this be granted, and aſcribe what ye will, or pleaſe, or can, to the Supream Magiſtrate, and you ſhall not from me have the leaſt contradiction.

A Survey of the Third Chapter.

THe third Chapter entertains us with a Magnificent Grant of *Liberty of Conſcience.* The very firſt *Paragraph* aſſerts, a *Liberty of Conſcience in Mankind over all their Actions whether Moral, or Strictly Religious.* But leſt this ſhould prove a *Bedlam* Conceſſion that might miſchief the whole deſign in hand, it is delivered to the power of a Keeper, who yet upon examination is no leſs wild and extravagant, than it ſelf is eſteemed abſolutely to be. This is, *That they have it as far as concerns their judgements, but not their practice*; That is; They have Liberty of Conſcience *over their Actions*, but *not their practices*; or *over their practices*, but *not over their Pra-*

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tices. For upon Tryal their Actions and Practices will prove to be the ſame. And I do not as yet well underſtand, what is this *Liberty of Conſcience over mens Actions.* Is it to do, or not to do, as their Conſciences dictate to them? This is abſolutely denied, and oppoſed in the chap. it ſelf. Is it to judge of their Actions as done, whether they be good or evil? This Conſcience is at no liberty in. For it is determined to a judgment in that kind Naturally, and Neceſſarily. and muſt be ſo whileſt it hath the Light of Nature, and Word of God to regard, So far as a Rule is capable of giving a meaſure and Determination to things to be regulated by it; That is; its moral actings, are morally determined. What then *this Liberty of Conſcience over mens actions* ſhould be, where they can neither Act freely according to their Conſciences what they are to do, nor abſtain from what they are not to do, nor are at liberty to judge what they have done to be good or bad, I cannot divine.

Let us ſearch after an Explication of theſe things in the *Paragraph* it ſelf, whoſe Contents are repreſented in the words mentioned. Here we are told, that this Liberty conſiſts *in mens thinking of things according*

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ing to their own perſwaſion, and therein aſſert-ing the freedom of their judgements. I would be loth to think *that this Liberty of mens Conſciences over all their moral Actions*, ſhould at firſt daſh dwindle into a Liberty in Speculations; That men may Think what they will, opine as they pleaſe, in, and about things that are not to be brought into practice; but yet as far as I can perceive, I muſt think ſo, or matters will come to a worſe iſſue.

But theſe things muſt be a little farther examined, and that very briefly. Here is mention of *Liberty of Conſcience*; but what Conſcience is, or what that Liberty is, is not declared. For Conſcience it is called ſometimes the *Mind*, ſometimes the *Underſtanding*, ſometimes *Opinion*, ſometimes deſcribed by the *Liberty of Thinking*, ſometimes termed an *Imperious Faculty*, which things without much diſcourſe, and more words, than I can now afford to uſe, are not reconcilable amongſt themſelves. Beſides, Liberty is no proper Affection of the Mind, or Underſtanding. Though I acknowledge the mind, and its Actings to be naturally free from outward Compulſion, or Coaction; yet it is capable of ſuch a Determination from the things propoſed unto it, and the manner of their propoſal,

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as to make neceſſary the *Elicitation of its Acts*. It cannot but judge that two and three make five. It is the will that is the proper ſeat of *Liberty*; and what ſome ſuppoſe to be the ultimate determination of the practical underſtanding, is indeed an *Act of the Will*. It is ſo if you ſpeak of Liberty naturally and morally, and not of ſtate and condition, which are here confounded. But ſuppoſe what you will to be Conſcience, it is *Moral Actions or Duties* that are here ſuppoſed to be the Object of its actings. Now what are, or can be the thoughts, or actings of the Mind of Man about *moral Actions*, but about their Vertue, or their Vice, their moral good or evil? nor is a concluſion of what is a mans own duty in reference to the practice of them, poſſibly to be ſeparated from them. That then which is here aſſerted is, That a man may think, judge, or conceive ſuch or ſuch a thing to be his Duty, and yet have thereby no Obligation put upon him to perform it; for Conſcience, we are informed, hath nothing to do beyond the inward thoughts of mens minds.

To ſtate this matter a little more clearly; let us take Conſcience in the moſt uſual Acceptation of it, and that which anſwers

anſwers the experience of every man that ever looks into the Affairs and Concerns within; and ſo it is, The practical judgment that men make of themſelves, and of their Actions, or what they are to do, and what they are not to do, what they have done, or what they have omitted, with reference unto the Judgement of God, at preſent declared in their own hearts, and in his word, and to be fully executed at the laſt day. For we ſpeak of Conſcience as it is amongſt Chriſtians, who acknowledge the Word of God, and that for a double end; *Firſt*, as the Rule of Conſcience it ſelf; *Secondly*, as the Declaration of the Will of God, as to his Approbation, or Rejecting of what we do, or omit. Suppoſe then, that a man make a judgment in his Conſcience, regulated by the Word of God, and with reſpect unto the judgement of God concerning him, that ſuch and ſuch a thing is a duty, and whoſe performance is required of him; I deſire to know, whether any obligation be upon him from thence to act accordingly? It is anſwered that the *Territory of Conſcience is confined unto mens thoughts, judgements and perſwaſions, and theſe are free*, yea, no doubt; but *for outward actions there is no remedy, but they muſt be ſubject to the Cognizance of*

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humane Laws, pag. 9. Who ever doubted of it? He that would have men ſo have Liberty from outward Actions, as not to have thoſe Actions *cognoſcible* by the civil power, as to the end of publick Tranquility, but to have their whole ſtation firmed abſolutely in the world upon the plea of Conſcience, would no doubt lay a foundation for confuſion in all government. But what is this to the preſent enquiry, whether Conſcience lay an Obligation on men, as regulated by the word of God, and reſpecting Him, to practiſe according to its dictates? It is true enough; that if any of its practices do not pleaſe, or ſatisfy the Magiſtrate, their Authors muſt for ought I know, ſtand to what will follow, or enſue on them to their prejudice; but this frees them not, from the Obligation that is upon them in Conſcience unto what is their duty. This is that, which muſt be here proved, if any thing be intended unto the purpoſe of this Author; namely that notwithſtanding the judgment of Conſcience concerning any duty, by the interpoſition of the Authority of the Magiſtrate to the contrary, there is no Obligation enſues for the performance of that duty. This is the Anſwer that ought plainly to be returned, and not a ſuggeſtion

ſtion that outward Actions muſt fall under the *Cognizance of the Magiſtrate*; which none ever doubted of, and which is nothing to the preſent purpoſe; unleſs he would have them to fall under the Magiſtrates Cognizance, as that his will ſhould be the ſupream Rule of them; which I think he cannot prove. But what ſenſe the Magiſtrate will have of the outward Actions, wherein the diſcharge of mans duty doth conſiſt, is of another conſideration.

This therefore is the ſtate of the preſent caſe applied unto Religious Worſhip. Suppoſe the Magiſtrate *command* ſuch things in Religion, as a man in his Conſcience guided by the Word, and reſpecting God, doth look upon as *Unlawful*, and ſuch as are Evil, and Sin unto him, if he ſhould perform them; and *forbid* ſuch things in the Worſhip of God, as he eſteems himſelf obliged in Conſcience to obſerve as commands of Chriſt; If he may practiſe the things ſo commanded, and omit the things ſo forbidden, I fear he will find himſelf within doors continually at confeſſion, ſaying with trouble enough; *I have done thoſe things, which I ought not to have done, and I have left undone thoſe things, which I ought to have done, and there is no health in me*;

me; unleſs this Author can prove that the Commands of God reſpect only the minds of men; but not their outward actions which are left unto the Authority of the Magiſtrate alone. If no more be here intended, but that whatever Conſcience may require of any, it will not ſecure them, but that when they come to act outwardly according to it, the Civil Magiſtrate may, and will conſider their Actions, and allow them, or forbid them according to his own judgement, it were ſurely a madneſs to deny it, as great, as to ſay the Sun ſhineth not at noon day. If Conſcience to God be confined to Thoughts, and Opinions, and Speculations about the general Notions, and Notices of things, about *True* and *Falſe*, and unto a liberty of judging, and determining upon them what they are, whether they are ſo or no; the whole nature and being of Conſcience, and that to the Reaſon, ſenſe, and experience of every man, is utterly overthrown. If Conſcience be allowed to make its judgement of what is good or evil, what is Duty or ſin, and no obligation be allowed to enſue from thence unto a ſuitable practice, a wide door is opened unto *Atheiſm*, and thereby the ſubverſion of all Religion and Government in the world.

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This therefore is the ſumm of what is aſſerted in this matter; Conſcience according to that Apprehenſion, which it hath of the will of God about His worſhip, (whereunto we confine our diſcourſe) obligeth men to act, or forbear accordingly; if their Apprehenſions are right and true, juſt and equal, what the Scripture, the great Rule of Conſcience doth declare and require, I hope none upon ſecond thoughts will deny, but that ſuch things are attended with a right unto a Liberty to be practiſed, whilſt the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is eſteemed the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, and is thought to have power to command the obſervance of his own Inſtitutions. Suppoſe theſe Apprehenſions to be ſuch as may in ſome things, be they more or leſs, be judged not to correſpond exactly with the great Rule of Conſcience, yet ſuppoſing them alſo to contain nothing inconſiſtent with, or of a diſturbing nature to civil Society, and publick Tranquillity, nothing that gives countenance to any Vice, or Evil, or is oppoſite to the principal Truths and main Duties of Religion, wherein the minds of men in a Nation do coaleſce, nor carry any politick entanglements along with them; and add thereun-

to the peaceableneſs of the perſons poſſeſt with thoſe Apprehenſions, and the impoſſibility they are under to deveſt themſelves of them, and I ſay Natural Right, Juſtice, Equity, Religion, Conſcience, God himſelf in all, and His Voice in the hearts of all unprejudiced perſons, do require that neither the perſons themſelves, on the account of their Conſciences, have violence offered unto them, nor their practices in purſuit of their Apprehenſions, be reſtrained by ſevere prohibitions and penalties. But whereas the Magiſtrate is allowed to judge, and diſpoſe of all outward Actions in reference to publick tranquility, if any ſhall aſſert Principles, as of Conſcience, tending, or obliging unto the practice of Vice, Immorality, or Sin, or to the diſturbance of publick ſociety, ſuch principles being all notoriouſly judged by Scripture, Nature, the common conſent of Mankind, and inconſiſtent with the fundamental principles of Humane Polity, may be in all inſtances of their diſcovery and practice, coerced, and reſtrained. But plainly, as to the commands of Conſcience, they are of the ſame extent with the commands of God: If theſe reſpect only the inward man, or

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the mind, Conscience doth no more; if they respect outward Actions, Conscience doth so also.

From the Liberty of Conscience, a Proceed is made to *Christian Liberty*, which *is said to be a Duty, or priviledg founded upon the* (chimærical) *Liberty of Conscience* before granted. But these things stand not in the Relation imagined; Liberty of Conscience is of natural Right, *Christian Liberty* is a Gospel-priviledge, though both may be pleaded in bar of unwarrantable Impositions on Conscience. But these things are so described by our Author, as to be confounded. For the *Christian Liberty* described in this *Paragraph*, is either restrained to matters of pure Speculation, wherein the mind of man is left entirely free to judge of the Truth, and falsehood of things; or as it regards things that fall under Laws and Impositions, wherein men are left intirely free to judge of them, as they are objects of meer Opinion. Now how this differs from the *Liberty of Conscience* granted before, I know not. And that there is some mistake in this description of *Christian Liberty*, need no other Consideration to evince but this; namely that *Christian Liberty*, as our Author tells us, is a *Priviledge*, but this is not so, being

that which is equally common unto all mankind. This Liberty is neceſſary unto *Humane Nature*, nor can it be diveſted of it, and ſo it is not a *Priviledge* that includes a ſpecialty in it. Every man cannot but think what he thinks, and judge what he judgeth, and that when he doth ſo, whether he will or no; for every thing when it is, and as it is, is neceſſary. In the uſe of what means they pleaſe, to guide, direct, and determine their thoughts, their Liberty doth conſiſt; This is equal in all, and natural unto all. Now this inward freedom of our Judgements is, it ſeems, our *Chriſtian Liberty*, conſiſtent with any impoſitions upon men in the exerciſe of the Worſhip of God, with an Obligation on Conſcience, unto their uſe and practice; A Liberty indeed of no value, but a meer Aggravation of bondage; And theſe things are further diſcourſed, Sect. 3. pag. 95. wherein we are told, *That this prerogative of our Chriſtian Liberty, is not ſo much any new favour granted in the Goſpel, as the Reſtauration of the mind of man to its natural priviledge, by exempting us from the yoke of the Ceremonial Law, whereby things in themſelves indifferent were tyed upon the Conſcience with as indiſpenſable an obligation, as the Rule of Eſſential Goodneſs, and Equitys*

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during the whole period of Moſaick Diſpenſation; which being corrected by the Goſpel, thoſe indifferent things, that have been made neceſſary by a Divine poſitive command, returned to their own nature to be uſed, or omitted, only as occaſion ſhould direct.

It is true, that a good part of our Chriſtian Liberty, conſiſts in our deliverance from the yoke of *Moſaical* Inſtitutions; but that this is not ſo much a *new favour granted in the Goſpel, as the Reſtauration of the mind of man to its natural priviledge*, is an inſertion that runs parallel with many others in this diſcourſe. This Priviledge, as all others of the Goſpel are, is ſpiritual, and its outward concerns, and exerciſe, are of no value, where the mind is not ſpiritually made free by Chriſt. And it is uncertain what is meant by the *Reſtauration of the mind to its natural priviledge*; If the priviledge of the mind in its condition of natural purity is intended, as it was before the entrance of ſin, it is falſe; If any priviledge, the mind of man in its corrupt depraved condition is capable of, be deſigned, it is no leſs untrue. In things of this nature, the mind in that condition is *in bondage*, and not capable of any Liberty; for it is a thing ridiculous, to confound the meer natural Liberty of our wills,

which is an affection inſeparable from that faculty, with a moral, or ſpiritual Liberty of mind, relating unto God and his Worſhip. But this whole *Paragraph* runs upon no ſmall miſtake; namely that the yoke of *Moſaical* Inſtitutions, conſiſted in their Impoſition on the minds, and judgments of men, with an opinion of the antecedent neceſſity of them. For although the words recited, *things in themſelves indifferent, were tyed upon the Conſcience with as indiſpenſable an obligation as the rules of eſſential goodneſs and equity*, may be reſtrained to their uſe, exerciſe, and obſervation; yet the Concluſion of it, that *whatever our Superiours impoſe upon us, whether in matters of Religious Worſhip, or any other Duties of morality, there neither is, nor can be any intrenchment upon our Chriſtian Liberty, provided it be not impoſed with an Opinion of Antecedent neceſſity of the thing it ſelf*, with the whole ſcope of the Argument inſiſted on, makes it evident to be the ſenſe intended. But this is wide enough from the mark; the *Jews* were never obliged, to judge the whole *Syſteme* of their Legal inſtitutions, to be any way neceſſary, antecedent unto their Inſtitution and Appointment; nor were they obliged to judge their intrinſik nature changed by their inſtitution, only

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they knew they were obliged to their conſtant, and indiſpenſable practice, as parts of the Worſhip of God, inſtituted and commanded by him, who hath the ſupream Authority over their Souls and Conſciences. There was indeed a *bondage ſpirit of ſpirit* upon them in all things, eſpecially in their whole Worſhip of God, as the Apoſtle *Paul* ſeveral times declares. But this is a thing of another Nature, though our delivery from it, be alſo a part of Chriſtian Liberty. This was no part of their inward, no more than their outward bondage, that they ſhould think, believe, judge or eſteem the things themſelves enjoyned them, to be abſolutely of any other nature, than they were; Had they been obliged unto any ſuch judgement of things, they had been obliged to deceive themſelves, or to be deceived; But by the abſolute Authority of God, they were indiſpenſibly bound in Conſcience to the actual obſervance, and continual uſe of ſuch a number of Ceremonies, Carnal Ordinances, and outward Obſervances, as being things in themſelves low, and mean, called by the Apoſtle *Beggerly Elements*, and enjoyned with ſo great ſtrictneſs, and under ſo ſevere penalties, many of them, of Exciſion, or Extermination from among the

people, as became an intolerable, and insupportable yoke unto them. Neither doth the Apostle *Peter* dispute about a judgement of their nature, but the necessity of their Observation, when he calls *them a yoke, which neither they, nor their Fathers were able to bear*, Acts 15. 10. And when St. *Paul* gives a charge to Believers, *to stand fast in the Liberty, wherewith Christ hath made them free*, it is with respect unto the outward Observation of *Mosaical Rites*, as by him instituted, and not as to any inward judgment of their minds concerning their Nature, antecedent unto that institution. His whole disputation on that subject, respects only mens practice, with regard unto an Authoritative Obligation thereunto, which he pleaded to be now expired, and removed. And if this Christian Liberty, which he built and proceeded upon, be of force to free, not our minds from the judgement that they had before of things in themselves, but our persons from the necessary practice, and observance of things instituted of God, however antecedently indifferent in themselves; I think it is, at least, of equal efficacy, to exempt us from the necessary practice of things imposed on us in the Worship of God, by men. For, setting aside the

the Inequality of the Impoſing Authority, which caſts the Advantage on the other ſide, (for theſe Legal Inſtitutions were impoſed on the Church by God himſelf, thoſe now intended are ſuch matters, as our Superiours of themſelves impoſe on us in Religious Worſhip) the caſe is abſolutely the ſame ; for as God did not give the *Law of Commandments contained in Ordinances* unto the *Jews*, from the Goodneſs of things required therein, antecedent to His Command, which ſhould make them neceſſary to be practiſed by them for their Good ; but did it of His own Soveraign Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure ; ſo He obliged not the people themſelves unto any other judgement of them, but that they were neceſſarily to be obſerved ; and ſetting aſide the conſideration of his Command, they were things in their own nature altogether indifferent ; ſo is it in the preſent caſe ; It is pleaded that there is no Impoſition on the Minds, Conſciences, or judgements of men, to *think* or *judge* otherwiſe of what is impoſed on them, than as their nature is, and doth require ; only they are obliged unto their Uſage, Obſervance, and Practice ; which is to put us into a thouſand times worſe condition than the *Jews*, if Inſtances of them ſhould be

be multiplyed, as they may lawfully be every year; seeing it much more quiets the mind; to be able to resolve its thoughts immediately into the Authority of God under its Yoke, than into that of man. If therefore we are freed from the one by *our Christian Liberty*, we are so much more from the other; so, as that being made *free by Christ, we should not be the servants of men*, in things belonging to his Service and Worship.

From this discovery here made of the nature of *Christian Liberty*, our Author makes some deductions, *p.* 98, 99. concerning the nature of Religious Worship, wherein he tells us, that the *whole substance of Religious Worship is transacted within the mind of man, and dwells in the heart, and thoughts, the soul being its proper Seat, and Temple, where men may Worship their God as they please, without offending their Prince*; and *that External Worship is no part of Religion it self.* I wish he had more clearly, and distinctly expressed his mind in this matter; for his Assertions, in the sense the words seem to bear, are prodigiously false, and such as will open a door to *Atheism* with all Villany and Confusion in the World. For who would not think this to be his intention; *Let men keep their minds and inward thoughts*

thoughts, and apprehensions right of God, and then they may practise outwardly in Religion what they please; one thing one day, another another; be Papists and Protestants, Arians and Homousians; yea *Mahometans and Christians;* any thing, every thing, after the manner of the Country, and Laws of the Prince, where they are, and live; the Rule that *Eceboliw* walked by of old? I think there is no man, that owns the Scripture, but will confess that this is, at least, if not a direct, yet an interpretative rejection of the whole Authority of God. And may not this Rule be quickly extended unto Oaths themselves, the bonds and Ligaments of humane Society? For whereas in their own formal nature they belong to the Worship of God, why may not men pretend to keep up their Reverence unto God, in the internal part of them, or their esteem of Him in their Invocation of His Name, but as to the outward part, accommodate it unto what by their Interest is required of them; so swearing with their Tongues, but keeping their Mind at Liberty? If the Principles laid down be capable of any other more tolerable sense, and such as may be exclusive of these Inferences, I shall gladly admit it; at present what is here deduced

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from them, ſeems to be evidently included in them.

It is true indeed, that Natural, Moral, or Internal Worſhip, conſiſting in Faith, Love, Fear, Thankfulneſs, Submiſſion, Dependance, and the like, hath its conſtant Seat, and Reſidence in the Souls, and Minds of men; but that the wayes whereby theſe Principles of it are to be outwardly exerciſed, *and expreſſed*, by Gods Command and Appointment, are not alſo indiſpenſably neceſſary unto us, and parts of his Worſhip, is utterly falſe. That which principally in the Scripture, comes under the notion of the *Worſhip of God*, is the due obſervance of his outward Inſtitutions; which *Divines* have upon unqueſtionable grounds, contended to be commanded and appointed in general in the ſecond Commandment of the Decalogue, whence all particular Inſtitutions in the ſeveral ſeaſons of the Church, are educed, and reſolved into the Authority of God therein expreſſed. And that account which we have here given us of outward Worſhip, namely, that it is *no part of Religion it ſelf, but only an Inſtrument to expreſs the inward Veneration of the mind, by ſome outward action or poſture of the body*, as it is very difficultly to be accommodated unto the *ſacri-*

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fices of old, or the preſent *Sacraments* of the Church, which were, and are parts of outward Worſhip, and, as I take it, of Religion; ſo the being an *inſtrument* unto the purpoſe mentioned, doth not exclude any thing from being alſo a part of Religion, and Worſhip it ſelf, if it be commanded by God to be performed in His Service, unto His Glory. It is pretended that all Outward Worſhip is only *an exteriour ſignification of Honour*; but yet all the parts of it in their performance, are *Acts of Obedience* unto God, and are the proper Actings of Faith, Love, and Submiſſion of Soul unto God, which if they are not His Worſhip, and parts of Religion, I know not what may be ſo eſteemed. Let then Outward Worſhip, ſtand in what Relation it will to Inward Spiritual Honour, where God requires it, and commands it, it is no leſs neceſſary and indiſpenſably to be performed, than any part of Inward Worſhip it ſelf, and is a no leſs important duty of Religion. For any thing comes to be a part of Religious Worſhip outwardly to be performed, not from its own nature, but from its reſpect unto the command of God; and the End whereunto it is by him deſigned. So the Apoſtle tells us *that with the heart man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and*

and with the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation, Rom. 10. Confeſſion is but the *exteriour ſignification* of the Faith, that is in our hearts; but yet it is no leſs neceſſary to Salvation, than Faith it ſelf is to Righteouſneſs. And thoſe, who regulate their Obedience, and Religious Worſhip by the Commands of God, knowing that which way ever they are ſignified, by inbred Light, or ſuperadded Revelation, it is they which give their Obedience its formal nature, making it Religious, will not allow that place and uſe of the outward Worſhip required by God Himſelf, which ſhould exclude it from being Religious, or a part of their Religion.

But upon the whole matter our Author affirms, *that in all Ages of the World, God hath left the Management of His Outward Worſhip unto the Diſcretion of Men, unleſs when to determine ſome particulars hath been uſefull to ſome other purpoſe*, pag. 100. The *management of Outward Worſhip*, may ſignifie no more but the due performance of it; and ſo I acknowledge that though it be not left unto mens diſcretion to obſerve, or not obſerve it, yet it is too their *Duty* and *Obedience*, which are their Diſcretion and their Wiſdom. But the *management* here underſtood, is oppoſed to Gods own de-

determination of *particular Formes*, that is, His especial Institutions; and hereof I shall make bold to say, that it *was never in any Age so left to the Discretion of men.* To prove this Assertion, *Sacrifices* are singled out as an Instance; It is known, and granted, that these were the most solemn part of the Outward Worship of God for many Ages; and that there was a general consent of Mankind unto the use of them; so that however the greatest part of the World apostatized from the true, only, and proper object of all Religious Worship, Worship, yet they retained this *Mode* and *Medium* of it. These Sacrifices we are told, p. 101. *did not owe their Original unto any Divine Institution, but were made choice of by good men as a fit way of imitating the gratefull resentments of their minds.* The Argument alone, as far as I can find, fixed on to firm this Assertion is, that those who teach the contrary, and say that this *Mode of Worship was commanded*, do *say so without proof, or evidence.* Our Author, for the most part, sets off his Assertions at no less rate than as such, without whose admittance, all Order, and Government, and almost every thing that is Good amongst mankind, would be ruined and destroyed. But he hath the unhappiness to found them

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ordinarily not only on Principles, and O
nions dubious, and uncertain; but on su
Paradoxes, as have been by ſober and lear
ed men generally decried. Such is this
the *Original of Sacrifices* here inſiſted o
The *Divines* of the *Church of Rome*, do g
nerally contend that Religion and Sacrifi
are ſo related, that the one cannot be wit
out the other. Hence they teach Go
would have required Sacrifices in the *Sta*
of Innocency, had mankind continued ther
in. And though the Inſtance be ill lai
and not proved, yet the general Rule ap
plyed unto the *Religion of Sinners*, is no
eaſily to be evicted. For as in Chriſtia
Religion we have a Sacrifice that i
προσφαλῶ ζῶσα, as to its Efficacy, alway
newly offered, and living; ſo before th
Perſonal Offering of it in the body o
Chriſt, there was no ſeaſon or Age, with
out a due Repreſentation of it in Sacri
fices *Typical*, and of *Myſtical* ſignification
And although there be no expreſs mention
in the Scripture of their Inſtitution, (for
theſe are ancient things) yet there is as
good warrant for it, as for Offering, and
burning Incenſe only with Sacred fire taken
from the Altar, which was of an Heavenly
traduction; for a neglect whereof the Prieſts
were conſumed with fire from before the
Lord;

Lord; that is, though an expreſs command be not recorded for their Inſtitution and Obſervation, yet enough may be collected from the Scripture that they were of a Divine Extract, and Original. And if they were arbitrary Inventions of ſome men, I deſire to have a rational account given me of their *Catholiciſm* in the World; and one Inſtance more of any thing not Natural, or Divine, that ever prevailed to ſuch an abſolute univerſal acceptance amongſt Mankind. It is not ſo ſafe, I ſuppoſe, to aſſign an arbitrary Original, unto any thing that hath obtained an univerſal Conſent and Suffrage; leſt men be thought to ſet their own houſes on fire, on purpoſe to conſume their Neighbours.

Beſides, no tolerable colour can be given to the Aſſertion, that they were the invention of good men. The firſt *notice* we have of them, is, in thoſe of *Cain and Abel*, whereof one was a *bad man*, and of the *Evil One*, and yet muſt be looked on as the principal Inventor of Sacrifices, if this fiction be allowed. Some of the Antients indeed thought, that *Adam* Sacrificed the *Beaſts* to God, whoſe *Skins his firſt Garments* were made of; and if ſo, he was very pregnant and ſudden in his invention, if he had no direction from God. But more than all this, *bloody*

Sacrifices were Types of Chriſt from the Foundation of the World; and *Socinus* himſelf, who, and his followers are the principal Aſſertors of this *paradox*, grants that Chriſt is called the *Lamb of God*, with reſpect unto the Sacrifices of old, even before the Law; As He is termed *A Lamb ſlain from the Foundation of the World*, not only with reſpect unto the Efficacy of his Sacrifice but to the Typical Repreſentation of it. And he that ſhall deny, that the *Patriarchs* in their Sacrifices had reſpect unto the *promiſed Seed*, will endeavour the ſhaking of a Pillar of the Churches Creed. Now I deſire to know how men, by their own Invention, or Authority, could aſſign ſuch an end unto their Sacrifices, if they were not of Divine Preſcription, if not deſigned of God thereunto.

Again; the Apoſtle tells us, *Abel offered his Sacrifice by Faith*, Heb. 11. 4. And Faith hath reſpect unto the Teſtimony of God, revealing, commanding, and promiſing to accept our duty. Wherever any thing is done in Faith, there an Aſſent is included to this, *that God is True*, Joh. 3. 33. And what it doth, is thereby diſtinguiſhed from Will-Worſhip, that is reſolved into the Commandments, and Doctrines of men, which whoſo reſt on, *make void the Commandment of God*, Matth. 15. 3, 6. And the Faith

of *Abel* as to its general Nature was the *Evidence of things not ſeen*, and *the Subſtance of things hoped for*, Heb. 11. 1. which in this matter it could not be, if it had neither Divine Command, nor Promiſe to reſt upon. It is evident therefore that Sacrifices were of a divine *Original*; and the Inſtance in them to prove, that the Outward Worſhip of God hath in all Ages been left unto the Prudence, and *Management* of men, is feeble, and ſuch as will give no countenance unto what it is produced in the Juſtification of; And herewith the whole Diſcourſe of our Author on this Subject falls to the ground, where I ſhall at preſent let it lye, though it might in ſundry Particulars be eaſily crumbled into uſeleſs Aſſeverations, and ſome expreſs Contradictions.

In the cloſe of this Chapter, an Application is made, of what hath been before argued, or rather dictated, unto a particular Controverſie about *ſignificant Ceremonies*. I am not willing to engage in any Conteſts of that Nature; ſeeing, to the due handling of them, a greater length of Diſcourſe would be neceſſary, than I think meet at preſent to draw forth this *Survey* unto. Only ſeeing a very few words, may ſerve to manifeſt the looſneſs of what is here Diſcourſed, to that purpoſe, I ſhall

venter on the Patience of *the Reader* wit
an addition of them. We have therefor
in the firſt place, a Reflection on *the prod*
gious Impertinency of the clamour againſt t
Inſtitution of ſignificant Ceremonies, when
is the only uſe of Ceremonies, as all other ou
ward Expreſſions of Religion, to be Significan
I do ſomewhat admire at the Temper o
this Author, who cannot expreſs his diſſen
from others, in Controverted Points of th
Meaneſt and Loweſt concernment, bu
with crying out *Prodigies, Clamours, Im*
pertinencies, and the like Expreſſions o
Aſtoniſhment in himſelf, and Contemp
of others. He might reſerve ſome o
theſe great Words for more important oc
caſions. But yet I joyn with him thus fa
in what he pleads; that Ceremonies in
ſtituted in the Worſhip of God, that *ar*
not ſignificant, are things very *inſignificant*
and ſuch as deſerve not the leaſt conten
tion about them. He truly alſo in th
next words tells us, that all *outward Wor*
ſhip is a ſign of inward Honour. It is ſo
both in Civil things, and Sacred. All ou
Queſtion is, How theſe *inſtituted Ceremonie*
come to be ſignificant, and what it is they
ſignifie, and whether it be lawful to aſſign
a ſignificancy to them in the Worſhip o
God, when indeed they have none, of the
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kind intended? To free us from any danger herein he informs us, p. 108. *That all the Magiſtrates power of inſtituting ſignificant Ceremonies, amounts to no more, than a power of determining what ſhall, or what ſhall not, be viſible ſigns of honour, and this can be no Uſurpation upon the Conſciences of men.* This is new Language, and ſuch as we have not formerly been uſed unto in the *Church of England*; namely, That of the *Magiſtrates Inſtituting Significant Ceremonies*; It was of old, the Churches appointing Ceremonies for decency and Order. But all the Terms of that Aſſertion are now *metamorphoſed*; The *Church* into the *Magiſtrates*; *Appointing*, which reſpects exercile, into *Inſtitution*, which reſpects the nature of the thing, and hath a ſingular uſe and ſenſe in this matter (or let them paſs for the ſame) and *Order and decency*, into Ceremonies *ſignificant*. Theſe things were indeed implyed before, but not ſo fully and plainly expreſſed or avowed. But the honour here intended in this matter, is the honour, which is given to God in his Worſhip. This is the honour of Faith, Love, Fear, Obedience ſpiritual, and holy, in Jeſus Chriſt. To ſay that the Magiſtrate hath power to inſtitute viſible ſigns of this honour, to be obſerved in the outward Worſhip of God,

is upon the matter to ſay that he hath power to inſtitute new *Sacraments*; for ſo ſuch things would be. And to ſay what neither is, nor can be proved, nor is here either *Logically*, or any way *regularly*, attempted ſo to be.

The Comparing of the *Ceremonies* and their ſignification, with *words* and their ſignification, will not relieve our Author in this matter. Some things are naturally ſignificant of one another; ſo Effects are of Cauſes; ſo is Smoke of Fire; and ſuch were the Signes of the Weather mentioned by our Saviour, *Matth.* 16. 2, 3. Thus I ſuppoſe Ceremonies are not ſignificant; they do not *Naturally* ſignifie the things whereunto they are applyed; for if they did, there would be no need of their inſtitution. And they are here ſaid to be *inſtituted by the Magiſtrate*. Again; there are Cuſtomary Signes, ſome it may be *Catholick*, many *Topical*, that have prevailed by Cuſtome, and Uſage, to ſignifie ſuch things, as they have no abſolute Natural Coherence with, or Relation unto; ſuch are *putting off the Hat* in ſign of Reverence, with others innumerable. And both theſe ſorts of Signs, may have ſome uſe about the Service, and Worſhip of God, as might be manifeſted in Inſtances. But the Signes

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we enquire after, are voluntary, arbitrary and *inſtituted* as our Author confeſſeth; for we do not treat of appointing ſome *Ceremonies for order and decency*, which our *Canons* take notice of, but of *inſtituting Ceremonies for Signification*, ſuch as neither naturally, nor meerly by Cuſtome and Uſage, come to be ſignificant, but only by Vertue of their Inſtitution. Now concerning theſe one Rule may be obſerved; namely, that they cannot be of one kind, and ſignifie things of another, by vertue of any command, and conſent of men, unleſs they have an abſolute Authority both over the ſign, and thing ſignified, and can change their Natures, or Create a new Relation between them. To take therefore things Natural, that are Outward, and Viſible, and appoint them to be Signs not Natural, nor Civil, nor Cuſtomary, but *Myſtical* of things Spiritual, Supernatural, Inward, and Inviſible, and, as ſuch, to have them obſerved in the Church, or Worſhip of God, is a thing which is not as yet proved to be Lawfull; ſignifie thus naturally they never can, ſeeing there is no natural Relation between them; Civilly, or by Conſent they do not ſo; for they are things *Sacred*, which they are ſuppoſed to ſignifie; and are ſo far from ſignifying by conſent, that thoſe, who plead for their

Signification, do not agree wherein it doth conſiſt. They muſt therefore ſignifie ſo *Myſtically*, and Spiritually; and *Signa, cum ad res Divinas pertinent, ſunt Sacramenta*, ſayes *Auſtin*; theſe things are Sacraments; And when men can give Myſtical, and Spiritual Efficacy to any of their own Inſtitutions; when they can make a Relation between ſuch Signes, and the things ſignified by them; when they can make that teaching, and inſtructing in ſpiritual things, and the Worſhip of God, which he hath not made ſo, nor appointed, bleſſed, or conſecrated to that end; when they can bind Gods Promiſes of Aſſiſtance, and Acceptance to their own Inventions; when they can advance what they will into the ſame rank, and *Series* of things in the Worſhip of God, with the Sacrifices of old, or other parts of inſtituted Worſhip introduced into the Church by Gods Command, and attended with his promiſe of gracious Acceptance, then and not before may they inſtitute the *ſignificant Ceremonies* here contended for. *Words*, it is true, are Signs of things; and thoſe of a mixed Nature; partly Natural, partly by Conſent. But they are not of one kind, and ſignifie things of another; for, ſay the *Schoolmen*, *where words are Signs of Sacred things, they are Signs of them as Things, but not as Sacred.*

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A Survey of the Fourth Chapter.

IN the fourth Chapter we have no concern; The *Hypotheſis* whoſe Confutation he hath undertaken, as it is in it ſelf falſe, ſo it is rather ſuited to promote what he aims at, than what he oppoſeth; And the principles which himſelf proceedeth on, do ſeem to ſome to *border on*, if not to be *borrowed from* his, and thoſe which are here confuted. And thence it is that the foundations, which he layes down in the entrance of this diſcourſe, are as deſtructive of his own pretenſions, as of thoſe, againſt which they are by himſelf improved. For it is granted, and aſſerted by him, that there are Actions, and Duties in, and about which, the Conſciences of men are not to be obliged by humane Authority, but have an antecedent Obligation on them from the Authority of God himſelf; *ſo that diſobedience unto the contrary commands of humane Authority is no ſin, but an indiſpenſible Duty*; And although he ſeems

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at first to restrain things of this nature, u
to things natural, and of an essential Rect
tude; that is, the prime dictates of the La
of Nature; yet he expressly extends it i
Instances, unto the *belief of the truth of th*
Gospel, which is a matter of meer and pur
Revelation: And hereon he adds, The for
mall, and adequate reason of this exemptio
of Conscience from humane Authority, and it
obligation unto duty, before its consideratio
on without it, and against it, *which is, no*
because Subjects are in any thing free from
the Authority of the Supream power on earth,
but because they are Subject to a Superiour in
Heaven, and they are then only excused from
the Duty of obedience to their Soveraign, when
they cannot give it without rebellion against
God; so that it is not originally any right of
their own, that exempts them from a Subjecti-
on to the Soveraign power in all things, but it
is purely Gods right of governing his own
Creatures, that Magistrates then invade, when
they make Edicts to violate, or controll His
Laws.

It is about Religion, and the Worship of God that we are discoursing; Now in these things no man ever thought that it was originally a right of Subjects, as Subjects, abstracting from the Consideration of the Authority of God, that should exempt them

them from a ſubjection to the Soveraign Power. For though ſome of the Antients diſcourſe at large, that it is of *natural Right and Equity*, that every one ſhould Worſhip God as he would himſelf, yet they founded this Equity in the nature of God, and the Authority of his Commands. This Exemption then ariſeth merely, as our Author obſerves, becauſe they are ſubject to a Superiour Power in Heaven, which excuſeth them from the Duty of Obedience to their Superiours on Earth, when they cannot give it without Rebellion againſt God; whence it undeniably follows that that Supream Power in Heaven hath exempted theſe things from all inferiour Powers on earth. Extend this now unto all things wherein men have, and ought to have a regard unto that *Superiour Power in Heaven*, as it muſt be extended, or the whole is ridiculous, (for that heavenly Supremacy is made the formall reaſon of the exemption here granted,) and all that our Author hath been ſo earneſtly contending for in the preceeding Chapters, falls to the ground. For no man pleads exemption from ſubjection unto, yea from giving active obedience unto the Authority, and Commands of the Magiſtrate, even in things Religious, but merely on the account of his

his ſubjection to the Authority of God Heaven; and, where this is ſo, he is ſet Liberty by our Author from all contra commands of men. This is *Bellarmine's b tiſſimum eſt*, which, as King *James* obſe ved, overthrows all, that he had conten ed for in his five *Books de Juſtificatione*.

A Survey of the Fifth Chapter.

THe fifth Chapter is at ſuch variance with it ſelf, and what is elſewhere dictated in the Treatiſe, that it would require no ſmall labour, to make any tollerable compoſition of things between them. This I ſhall not engage in, as not being of my preſent concernment. What ſeems to tend unto the carrying on of the deſign of the whole, may be called unto ſome account. In the beginning of it, he tells us that *a belief of the indifferency or rather impoſture of all Religions; is made the moſt effectual, not to ſay the moſt faſhionable argument for liberty of Conſcience.* For my part, I never read, I never heard of this pretence

tenee or Argument, to be used to that purpose. It wants no such defence. Nay the principle it self, seems to me, to be suited directly to oppose and overthrow it. For if there be no such thing in reality as *Religion* in the World, it is certainly a very foolish thing, to have differences perpetuated amongst men upon the account of Conscience, which without a supposition of Religion, is nothing but a vain and empty name: But hence our Author takes occasion, to discourse of the use of Religion and Conscience in the Government of Affairs in the World; and proves in many words, that *Conscience unto God, with a regard to future eternal rewards or punishments, is the great ligament of humane Society, the security of Government, the strongest bond of Laws, and only support of Rule, without which every man would first and last, be guided by mere self Interest, which would reduce all power and Authority to meer force and violence.* To this purpose doth he discourse at large in *one* section of this Chapter; And in *another*, with no less earnestness and Elegancy of Words, and Repetition of various Expressions of the same signification, that the *use and exercise of conscience, will certainly overthrow all Government, and fill the world with confusion.* In like manner,

manner, whereas we have been hither throughly instructed, as I thought, th men may think what they will in the ma ters of Religion, *and be of what persuasi they please*, no man can or ought to contro them therein; here we are told, that *power, nor policy, can keep men peaceable, u till some persuasions are rooted out of the minds by severity of Laws and Penalties*, pa 145. And whereas heretofore, we wer informed, that men *might believe what th would*, Princes were concerned only i their outward practice; now are we assu red, that *above all things, it concerns Princ to look to the Doctrines and Articles of men belief*, p. 147. But these things, as was be fore intimated, are not of our concern.

Nor can I find much of that Importance, in the third and fourth paragraphs of this Declamatory Invective. It is evident whom he regards and reflects upon, and with what false, unmanly, unchristian revilings, he indeavours to traduce them. He would have the world believe, that there is a Generation of men, *whose principles of Religion teach them to be proud, peevish, malicious, spightful, envious, turbulent, boysterous, seditious*, and what ever is evil in the world; when others are *all for candour, moderation and ingenuity*; amongst whom

whom no doubt he reckons himſelf for one, and gives in this Diſcourſe in evidence thereof. But what are theſe *Doctrines and Articles of mens belief*, which diſpoſe them inevitably to all the *villanies* that our Author could find names for. A catalogue of them he gives us, pag. 147, 148. Saith he, *what if they believe that Princes are but the Executioners of the decrees of the Presbitery; and that in caſe of diſobedience to their Spiritual Governours, they may be excommunicated, and by conſequence depoſed? What if they believe that dominion is founded in Grace, and therefore all wicked Kings forfeit their Crowns, and that it is in the power of the People of God to beſtow them where they pleaſe? And what if others believe that to purſue their ſucceſſes in Villany and Rebellion is to follow Providence?* All the World knows what it is, that hath given him the Advantage of providing a covering, for theſe monſtrous fictions; and an account thereof hath been given elſewhere. And what now if thoſe intended do *not believe* theſe things, nor any one of them? What if they do openly diſavow every one of them, as for ought I ever heard or know they do, and as I do my ſelf? What if ſome of them, are ridiculouſly framed into Articles of faith, from the

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ſuppoſed practices of ſome individual Perſons? And what if men be of never ſo vile opinions about the *purſuit of their ſucceſſes*, ſo they have none to countenance them in any unlawful Enterpriſes, which I think muſt go before ſucceſſes? What if only the *Papiſts* be concerned in theſe Articles of faith; and they only in one of them about the Excommunication and Depoſition of Princes, and that only ſome of them; and not one of thoſe have any concern in them, whom he intends to reproach? I ſay if theſe things are ſo, we need look no farther for the principles of that Religion, which hath furniſhed him with all this candor, moderation and ingenuity, and hath wrought him to ſuch a quiet and peaceable temper, by teaching him that Humility, Charity and Meekneſs, which here bewray themſelves

Let it be granted, as it muſt and ought to be, that all Principles of the minds of men, pretended to be from Apprehenſions of Religion, that are in themſelves inconſiſtent with any Lawful Government, in any place what ever, ought to be coerced, and reſtrained. For our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſending his Goſpel to be preached and publiſhed in all Nations and Kingdoms of the World, then, and at all times, under

under various ſorts of Governments, all for the ſame end of publick Tranquility and Proſperity, did propoſe nothing in it, but what a Submiſſion and Obedience unto, might be conſiſtent with the Government it ſelf, of what ſort ſoever it were. He came, as they uſed to ſing of old, *to give men an Heavenly Kingdom, and not to deprive them, or take from them their earthly temporal dominions.* There is therefore nothing more certain, than that there is no principle of the Religion taught by Jeſus Chriſt, which either in it ſelf, or in the practice of it, is inconſiſtent with any Righteous Government on the Earth. And if any opinions can truly and really be manifeſted ſo to be, I will be no Advocate for them, nor their Abettors. But ſuch as theſe, our Author ſhall never be able juſtly to affix on them whom he oppoſeth; nor the leaſt umbrage of them; if he do but allow the Goſpel, and the power of Chriſt to inſtitute thoſe Spiritual Ordinances, and requiring their Adminiſtration, which do not, which cannot extend unto any thing wherein a Magiſtrate as ſuch, hath the leaſt concernment in point of prejudice. For if on a falſe, or undue practice of them, any thing ſhould be done, that is not purely ſpiritual, or that being done, ſhould

be esteemed to operate upon any of
outward Concerns, Relations, Interest
Occasions of men, they may be restrain
by the power of him who presides o
publick good.

But besides these pretences, our A
thor I know not how, chargeth also the
mours, inclinations and *passions* of some m
as inconsistent with Government, and
wayes disposing men to *Phanaticisme* and
dition; and on occasion thereof falls out
to an excess of intemperance in reproa
ing them whom he oppose', such as
have not above once or twice before m
with the like. And in particular he ra
about that *Zeal*, as he calls it, *for the G
ry of God*, which hath *turned whole Nati
into Shambles, filled the World with Rutc
ries and Massacres, and fleshed it self w
slaughters of miriads of mankind.* N
omitting all other Controversies, I sh
undertake to maintain this against any m
in the World, that the effects here so tr
gically expressed, have been produced b
the *Zeal* our Author pleads for, in cor
pelling all unto the same sentiments and pr
ctices in Religion, incomparably abo
what hath ensued upon any other preten
in or about Religion, what ever. This
need require, I shall evince with such In
stance

ſtances, from the entring of Chriſtianity into the World to this very day, as will admit of no Competition with all thoſe together, which on any account or pretence have produced the like effects. This it was, and is, that hath ſoaked the Earth with blood, depopulated Nations, ruined Families, Countrys, Kingdoms, and at length made innumerable Chriſtians rejoyce in the yoke of *Turkiſh Tyranny*, to free themſelves from their perpetual perſecutions, on the account of their diſſent from the Worſhip publickly eſtabliſhed in the places of their Nativity. And as for the Humours, Inclinations, and paſſions of men, when our Author will give ſuch Rules and directions, as whereby the Magiſtrate may know how to make a true and legal judgement, of who are fit on their account, to live in his Territories, and who are not, I ſuppoſe there will not be any conteſt about them; until then, we may leave them as here diſplayed and ſet up by our Author, for every one to caſt a cudgel at them, that hath a mind thereunto.

For to what purpoſe is it to conſider the frequent Occaſions he takes, to diſcourſe about the ill tempers and humours of men, or of enveighing againſt them for being *moroſe*, and *ungentile*, *unſociable*, *peeviſh*, *cenſe-*

rious, with many other terms of reproach, that do not at preſent occur to my memory, nor are doubtleſs worth the ſearching after. Suppoſe he hath the Advantage of a better natural temper, have more ſedate affections, a more complyant humour, be more remote from giving or receiving provocations, and have learned the wayes of Courtly deportment, only was pleaſed to vail them all and every one, in the writing of this Diſcourſe; is it meet that they ſhould be perſecuted and deſtroyed, be eſteemed Seditious and I know not what, becauſe they are of a natural temper not ſo diſpoſed to Affability and ſweetneſs of Converſation as ſome others are? For my part, I diſlike the humour and temper of mind characteriſed by our Author, it may be as much as he; I am ſure, I think, as much as I ought. But to make it a matter of ſuch huge importance, as ſolemnly to introduce it into a Diſcourſe about Religion, and publick Tranquility, will not it may be, on ſecond thoughts, be eſteemed over conſiderately done. And it is not unlikely, but that our Author ſeems of as untoward a Compoſition, and peeviſh an Humour to them whom he reflects upon, as they do to him, and that they ſatisfie themſelves as much in their diſpoſition

ſition and deportment, as he doth himſelf in his.

Nimirum idem omnes fallimur, neque eſt quiſquam
Quem non in aliqua re, videre Suffenum
Poſſis——

Sect. 5. *pag.* 155, 156. He inveighs againſt the Events that attend the permiſſion of *different Sects of Religion* in a Commonwealth. And it is not denyed, but that ſome inconveniencies may enſue thereon. But as himſelf hath well obſerved in another place, we do not in theſe things enquire what is abſolutely beſt, and what hath no inconvenience attending it; but what is the beſt which in our preſent condition we can attain unto; and what in that ſtate anſwers the Duty that God requireth of us. Queſtionleſs, it were beſt that we ſhould *be all of one mind* in theſe things of God; and it is no doubt alſo our Duty on all hands to endeavour ſo to be. But ſeeing *de facto*, this is not ſo, nor is it in the power of men, when and how they wil to depoſe thoſe perſwaſions of their minds, and dictates of their Conſciences, from whence it is not ſo, on the one part or the other; (although in ſome

parts of our differences, ſome may do ſo and will not, namely in things acknowledged to be of no neceſſity antecedent to their impoſition; and ſome would do ſo and cannot.) It is now enquired, what is the beſt way to be ſteer'd in, for the Accompliſhment of the deſired end of peace and Tranquility for the *future*; and maintaining love, quietneſs and mutual uſefulneſs *at preſent* amongſt men. Two ways are propoſed to this purpoſe; the one is to exerciſe mutual forbearance to each other, whilſt we are inevitably under the power of different perſwaſions in theſe things, producing no practices that are either injurious unto private men in their rights, or hurtful unto the State, as to publick Peace; endeavouring in the mean time, by the evidence of Truth, and a converſation ſuited unto it, to win upon each other to a conſent and Agreement in the things wherein we differ. The other is, by Severe Laws, Penalties, outward force, as Impriſonments, Mulcts, Fines, Baniſhments, or Capital puniſhments, to compell all men out of hand, to an uniformity of practice, whatever their judgements be to the contrary. Now as the ſtate of things is amongſt us, which of theſe wayes is moſt ſuitable to the Law of our Being

and

and Creation, the beſt Principles of the nature of man, and thoſe which have the moſt evident Reſemblance of Divine Perfections, the Goſpel, the Spirit and Letter of it, with the mind of its Author our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is moſt conducing to attain the end aimed at, in wayes of a natural and genuine complyance with the things themſelves of Religion, Conſcience, and Divine Worſhip, is left unto the judgement of God, and all good men.

In the mean time, if men will make Declamations upon their own ſurmiſes, jealouſies, and ſuſpitions of things which are either ſo indeed, that is really ſurmized, or pretended to be ſo for ſome private intereſts or advantages of their own, which no man can anſwer or remove; if they may fancy at their pleaſure Ghoſts, Goblins, Fiends, walking Sprights, Seditions, Drums, Trumpets, Armies, Bears, and Tigers; Every difference in Religion, be it never ſo ſmall, be the agreement amongſt them that differ, never ſo great, be it the viſible, known, open intereſt of them that diſſent from what is eſtabliſhed, to live quietly and peaceably, and to promote the good of the Commonwealth wherein they live; do they profeſs that it is their duty, their Principle, their Faith, and Doctrine, to

obey conſtantly their Rulers and Governours in all things, not contrary to the mind of God, and pretend no ſuch commands of his, as ſhould interfere in the leaſt with their power in order to publick tranquility; do they offer all the ſecurity of their Adherence to ſuch declared Principles, as mankind is neceſſitated to be contented and ſatisfied with, in things of their higheſt concernment; do they avow an eſpecial ſenſe of the Obligation that is put upon them by their Rulers, when they are protected in peace; have they no concernment in any ſuch Political Societies, Combinations, Intereſts, as might alone give countenance unto any ſuch diſturbance; all is one, every different *Opinion is Preſs-money, and every Sect is an Army*, although they be all and every one of them Proteſtants, of whom alone we do diſcourſe. Other anſwer therefore I ſhall not return unto this part of our Authors arguing, than what he gave of old.

Ne admittam culpam, ego meo ſum promus pectori.

Suſpicio eſt in pectore alieno ſita.
Nam nunc ego te ſi ſurripuiſſe ſuſpicer,
Jovi coronam de capite e capitolio,

Quo

Quod in culmine aſtat ſummo, ſi non id feceris;
Atque id tamen mihi lubeat ſuſpicarier;
Qui tu id prohibere me potes, ne ſuſpicer.

Only, I may add, that ſundry of the Inſtances our Author makes uſe of, are falſe, and unduly alledged. For what is here charged on differences in and about Religion, in reference unto publick Tranquility, might have been, yea and was charged on *Chriſtian Religion* for three hundred years, and is ſo by many ſtill on *Proteſtancy* as ſuch; and that it were a very eaſie and facile task, to ſet out the pernicious evills of a compelled Agreement in the practice of Religion, and thoſe not *fancied* only or feigned, but ſuch as do follow it, have followed it, and will follow it in the world.

An enquiry in this Invective, tending to evince its reaſonableneſs is offered, in *pag.* 158. namely, *Where there are divided Intereſts in Religion in the ſame Kingdom, it is asked how ſhall the Prince behave himſelf towards them.* The anſwer thereunto is not I confeſs eaſie, becauſe it is not eaſie to be underſtood, what is intended by *divided Intereſts in Religion.* We will therefore lay that aſide, and conſider what really is amongſt us, or may be according to what

what we understand by these expressions. Suppose then, that in the same profession of Protestant Religion, some different ways and Observances in the outward Worship of God should be allowed, and the Persons concerned herein have no other, can not be proved to have any other interest with respect unto Religion, but to *fear God and honour the King*; it is a very easie thing to return an Answer to this enquiry. For not entring into the profound Political Speculation of our Author, about *balancing of Parties, or siding with this or that Party*, where the differences themselves constitute no distinct Parties, in reference to Civil Government and publick Tranquility; let the Prince openly avow by the declaration of his judgement, his constant practice, his establishing of Legal Rights, disposing of publick favours in places and preferments, that way of Religion which himself owns and approves; and let him indulge and protect others of the same Religion, for the substance of it with what himself professeth, in the quiet and peaceable exercise of their Consciences in the Worship of God, keeping all Dissenters within the bounds allotted to them, that none transgress them to the invasion of the Rights of others; and he may

y have both the Reality, and Glory of
eligion, Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, and all
ther Royal Vertues which will render him
like to him whoſe Vice-gerent he is; and
will undoubtedly reap the bleſſed fruits of
them, in the induſtry, peaceableneſs, and
loyalty of all his Subjects whatever.

There are ſundry things in the cloſe of this Chapter objected againſt ſuch a courſe of proceedure; but thoſe ſuch, as are all of them reſolved into a ſuppoſition, that they who in any place or part of the world, deſire *Liberty of Conſcience* for the Worſhip of God, have indeed no Conſcience at all. For it is thereon ſuppoſed without further evidence, that they will thence fall into all wicked and unconſcientious practices. I ſhall make, as I ſaid, no reply to ſuch ſurmiſes. *Chriſtianity* ſuffered under them for many Ages. *Proteſtancy* hath done ſo in ſundry places for many years. And thoſe who now may do ſo, muſt as they did, bear the effects of them as well as they are able. Only I ſhall ſay, Firſt, Whatever is of real inconvenience in this pretenſion, on the ſuppoſition of Liberty of Conſcience, is no way removed by taking away all different practices, unleſs ye could alſo obliterate all different perſwaſions out of the minds

of

of men; which although in *one place*, tells us ought to be done by *ſevere pe ties*, yet *in another*, he acknowledgeth t the Magiſtrate hath *no cognizance of ſuch things*; who yet alone is the inflict of all penalties. Nay where different A prehenſions are, the abſolute prohibiti of different anſwerable practices, doth thouſand times more diſpoſe the minds men to unquietneſs, than where they a allowed both together, as hath been b fore declared. And he that can obliter out of, and take away all different Appr henſions and Perſwaſions about the Wo ſhip of God, from the minds and Conſci ences of men, bringing them to center the ſame thoughts and judgements abſolut ly, in all particulars about them,

Dicendum eſt —— Deus ille fuit, Deus incly Menu

Qui Princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam; ——

He is God and not Man.

Secondly, It is granted, that the Magi ſtrate may, and ought to reſtrain all Prin ciples and outward practices, that have any natural tendency unto the diſturbance o the peace; which being granted, and all obligations upon diſſenting Parties being alone

lone put upon them, by the Supream Legislative and Executive power of the Kingdoms and Nations of the world, publick Tranquility is, and will be as well secured on that respect, as such things are capable of security in this world. All the longsome Discourse therefore which here ensues, wherein all the evils that have been in this Nation, are charged on Liberty of Conscience, from whence not one of them did proceed, seeing there was no such thing granted, until upon other Civil and Political accounts, the Flood-Gates were set open unto the following Calamities and Confusions, is of no use, nor unto any purpose at all. For until it can be demonstratively proved, that those who do actually suffer, and are freely willing so to do, (as far as the foregoing, otherwise lawful advantages, open unto them as well as others, may be so called) and resolved to undergo what may farther to their detriment, yea to their ruine be inflicted on them, to preserve their Consciences entire unto some commands of God, have no respect unto others of as great evidence and light to be his, (as are those which concern their Obedience unto Magistrates, compared with those which they avow about the Worship of God;)

and

and that private men, unintereſted in, a
uncapable of any pretence unto Publi
Authority of any ſort, do alwa
themſelves warranted to do ſuch
others have done, pleading Right
thority for their warranty; and
be made manifeſt alſo, that they have
other or greater Intereſt, than to enjoy th
particular conditions and Eſtates in pea
and to exerciſe themſelves in the Word
of God according as they apprehend
mind to be, theſe Declamations are altog
ther vain, and as to any ſolid wor
lighter than a Feather.

And I could deſire that if theſe Contr
verſies muſt be farther debated, that o
Author would omit the purſuit of th
things, which are really ἔξω τῶ πράγματ
and according to the antient cuſtom
tend ἄνευ προοιμίων ἢ παθῶν, without *Rhetori*
Prefaces, or unreaſonable Paſſions, unto t
merit of the Cauſe. To this purpoſe,
ſuppoſe it might not be amiſs for him,
conſider a few Sheets of Paper lately pu
liſhed, under the Title of *A Caſe ſtated, &*
wherein he will find the main Controver
reduced to its proper heads, and a mode
Provocation unto an Anſwer to what
propoſed about it.

——*illum aſpice contra*
Qui vocat.

A Survey of the Sixth Chapter.

THE ſixth Chapter in this Diſcourſe, which is the laſt that at the preſent I ſhall call to any account, (as being now utterly wearied with the frequent occurrence of the ſame things in various dreſſes ;) is deſigned to the confutation of a Principle, which is termed the *Foundation of all Puritaniſm*, and that wherein *the Myſterie of it* conſiſteth. Now this is, that *nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Worſhip of God, but what is authoriſed by ſome Precept or Example in the Word of God, which is the compleat and adequate Rule of Worſhip.* Be it ſo, that this Principle is by ſome allowed, yea contended for. It will not be eaſie to affix a guilt upon them, on the account of its being ſo ; For, lay aſide prejudics, corrupt intereſts, and paſſions, and I am perſwaded that at the firſt view, it will not ſeem to be foraign, unto what is in an hundred places declared and taught in the Scripture. And certainly a man muſt be *Maſter* of extra-

ordinary

ordinary projections, who can foresee a
the evil, confusion and desolation in th
World, which our Author hath foun
out, as inevitable consequents of its admi
tance. It hath, I confess, been former
disputed with colourable Arguments, Pre
tences and Instances, on the one side an
the other; and variously stated among
Learn'd men, by, and on various distinction
and with diverse limitations. But the man
ner of our Author is, that whatever is co
trary to his Apprehensions, must presently
overthrow all Government, and bring in al
confusion into the World. Such huge
weight hath he wonted himself to lay o
the smallest different conceptions of th
minds of men, where his own are not en
throned. Particularly it is contended
that there can be no Peace in any Church
or States, whilest this Principle is admit
ted: when it is easily demonstrable, tha
without the admittance of it, as to its sub
stance and principal End, all peace an
agreement among Churches are utterly im
possible. The like also may be said o
States, which indeed are not at all con
cerned in it, any farther, than as it is a prin
cipal means of their Peace and Security,
where it is embraced; and that which
would reduce Rulers to a Stability of
mind

mind in these things, after they have been tossed up and down with the various suggestions of men, striving every one to exalt their own Imaginations. But seeing it is pretended and granted to be of so much importance, I shall, without much regard to the Exclamations of this Author, and the reproachful contemptuous expressions, which without stint or measure he poures out upon the Assertors of it, consider both what is the concern of his present Adversaries in it, and what is to be thought of the Principle it self; so submiting the whole to the judgement of the candid Reader. Only I must add one thing to the Position, without which it is not maintained by any of those, with whom he hath to do; which may deliver him from combating the air in his next Assault of it; and this is, That nothing ought to be established in the Worship of God, *as a part of that Worship*, or made constantly necessary in its Observance, without the warranty before-mentioned; for this is expressly contended for by them, who maintain it; and who reject nothing upon the Authority of it, but what they can prove to be a pretended part of Religious Worship as such. And, as thus laid down, I shall give some further account both of the Principle

it ſelf, and of the intereſt of the *Non-Conformiſts* in it; becauſe both it and they are together here reproached.

What then I ſay is the true ſenſe and importance of that which our Author deſigns to oppoſe, according to the mind of them who aſſert it; how impotent his attempts againſt it are for its removal, ſhall briefly be declared. In the mean time I cannot but, in the firſt place, tell him, that if by any means this Principle truly ſtated, as to the Expreſſion wherein it is before laid down, and the formal Terms whereof it conſiſteth, ſhould be ſhaken, or rendred dubious, yet that the way will not be much the plainer, or clearer, for the Introduction of his pretenſions. There are yet other general *maxims*, which *Non-Conformiſts* adhere unto, and ſuppoſe not juſtly queſtionable, which they can firmly ſtand and build upon in the management of their Plea, as to all differences between him and them. And becauſe, it may be, he is unacquainted with them, I ſhall reckon over ſome of them for his Information. And they are theſe that follow.

1. That whatever the Scripture hath indeed preſcribed, and appointed to be done, and obſerved in the Worſhip of God, and the government of the Church, that is indeed

deed to be done and obſerved. This, they ſuppoſe, will not be oppoſed: at leaſt they do not yet know, notwithſtanding any thing ſpoken or diſputed in this Diſcourſe, any pretences, on which it may honeſtly ſo be. It is alſo, as I think, ſecured, *Matth.* 28. 20.

2. That nothing in Conjunction with, nothing as an Addition or Supplement unto what is ſo appointed, ought to be admitted, if it be contrary either to the General Rules, or particular preceptive Inſtructions of the Scripture. And this alſo, I ſuppoſe, will be granted: and if it be not freely, ſome are ready by Arguments to extort the confeſſion of it from them that ſhall deny it.

3. That nothing ought to be joyned with, or added unto, what in the Scripture is preſcribed and appointed in theſe things, without ſome Cogent Reaſon, making ſuch Conjunction or Addition neceſſary. Of what neceſſity may accrue unto the obſervation of ſuch things, by their preſcription, we do not now diſpute: but at preſent only deſire to ſee the neceſſity of their preſcription. And this can be nothing, but ſome defect in Subſtance or Circumſtance, matter or manner, kind or form, in the Inſtitutions mentioned in the Scri-

pture, as to their proper ends. Now whe
this is discovered, I will not, for my par
much dispute by whom the supplement i
to be made. In the mean time I do judg
it reasonable, that there be some previou
Reasons assigned unto any Additional pre
scriptions in the Worship of God unto
what is revealed in the Scripture, rendrin
the matter of those prescriptions antece
dently necessary and reasonable.

4. That if any thing or things in thi
kind, shall be found necessary, to be added
and prescribed, then that and those alone
be so, which are most consonant unto the
general Rules of the Scripture, given us
for our Guidance in the Worship of God,
and the nature of those Institutions them-
selves, wherewith they are conjoyned, or
whereunto they are added. And this also
I suppose to be a reasonable Request, and
such as will be granted by all men, who
dare not advance their own Wills and
Wisdom above or against the Will and
Wisdom of God.

Now if, as was said, the general Prin-
ciple before-mentioned, should by any
means be duly removed, or could be so; if
intangled or rendred dubious; yet as far
as I can learn, the *Non-Conformists* will be
very far from supposing the matters in con-
test

teſt between them and their Adverſaries, to be concluded. But as they look upon their concernments to be abſolutely ſecured in the Principles now mentioned, all which they know to be true, and hope to be unqueſtionable: ſo the truth is, there is by this Author very ſmall occaſion adminiſtred unto any thoughts of quitting the former more general *Theſis* as rightly ſtated; but rather, if his Ability be a competent meaſure of the merit of his cauſe, there is a ſtrong confirmation given unto it in the minds of conſidering men, from the Impotency and Succeſſleſneſs of the attempt made upon it. And that this may appear to the indifferent Readers Satisfaction, I ſhall ſo far divert in this place from the purſuit of my firſt deſign, as to State the Principle aright, and briefly to call the preſent Oppoſition of it, unto a new account.

The ſumm in general, of what this Author oppoſeth with ſo much clamour is, *That Divine Revelation is the ſole Rule of Divine Religious Worſhip*; an Aſſertion, that in its latitude of expreſſion, hath been acknowledged in, and by, all Nations and People. The very Heathen admitted it of old, as ſhall be manifeſted, if need require, by inſtances ſufficient. For though they framed many Gods in their fooliſh

darkened imaginations, yet they thought that every one of them would be Worshipped according to his own mind, direction and prescription. So did, and, I think do, Christians generally believe: only some have a mind to pare this generally avowed Principle, to curb it, and order it so by distinctions and restrictions, that it may serve their turn, and consist with their interest. For an opposition unto it nakedly, directly and expresly, few have had the confidence yet to make. And the Non-Conformists need not go one step farther, in the expression of their Judgements and Principles in this matter. For who shall compell them to take their Adversaries distinctions, (which have been invented and used by the most Learned of them) of, *substantial* and *accidental*; *proper* and *reductive*; *primitive* and *accessary*; *direct* and *consequential*; *intrinsick* and *circumstantial* Worship, and the like, for the most part unintelligible terms in their application, into the state of the question? If men have a mind, let them oppose this *Thesis* as laid down, if not, let them let it alone: and they, who shall undertake the confirmation of it, will, no doubt, carry it through the briers of those unscriptural distinctions. And that this Author may be

be the better instructed in his future work, I shall give him a little farther account of the terms of the Assertion laid down.

Revelation is either ἀποκάλυψις, or παράδοσις, and containeth every discovery or declaration, that God hath made of himself, or of his mind and will, unto men. Thus it is comprehensive of that concreated Light, which is in all men, concerning him and his Will. For although we say, that this is natural; and is commonly *contra*-distinguished to Revelation properly so called, which for perspicuity sake we call Revelation supernatural; yet whereas it doth not so necessarily accompany humane nature, but that it may be separated from it; nor is it educed out of our natural faculties by their own native or primigenial Vertue; but is, or was distinctly implanted in them by God himself; I place it under the general head of Revelation. Hence whatever is certainly from God, by the Light of Nature and Instinct thereof declared so to be, is no less a certain Rule of Worship and Obedience, so far forth as it is from him, and concerneth those things, than any thing that comes from him by express vocal Revelation. And this casts out of consideration a vain exception, wherewith some men please themselves; as though the

men of this Opinion, denyed the Admittance of what is from God, and by the Light of Nature discovered to be his mind and will. Let them once prove any thing in contest between them and their Adversaries to be required, prescribed, exacted or made necessary by the Light of Nature, as the Will of God revealed therein, and I will assure them, that as to my concern, there shall be an end of all difference about it. But yet that I may adde a little farther light into the sense of the Non-Conformists in this matter; I say,

1. That this inbred Light of Reason guides unto nothing at all in or about the Worship of God, but what is more fully, clearly and directly taught and declared in the Scripture. And this may easily be evinced, as from the untoward mixture of darkness and Corruption, that is befallen our primigenial inbred Principles of Light and Wisdom, by the entrance of sin; so also from the end of the Scripture it self; which was to restore that knowledge of God and his mind, which was lost by sin; and which might be as useful to man in his lapsed condition, as the other was in his pure and uncorrupted estate. At present therefore, I shall leave this Assertion, in expectation of some instance, in matters great

great or ſmall, to the contrary, before I ſuppoſe it be obnoxious to queſtion or diſpute.

2. As there can be no Oppoſition, nor contradiction, between the Light of Nature, and inſpired Vocal or Scriptural Revelation, becauſe they are both from God: So if in any inſtance, there ſhould appear any ſuch thing unto us, neither Faith nor Reaſon can reſt in that which is pretended to be *natural Light*, but muſt betake themſelves for their reſolution unto expreſs Revelation. And the reaſon hereof is evident; becauſe nothing is *natural light*, but what is common to all men; and where it is denyed, it is fruſtrated as to its ruling Efficacy. Again, it is mixed, as we ſaid before; and it is not every mans work to ſeparate the Chaffe from the Wheat; or what God hath implanted in the mind of man when he *made him upright*, and what is ſince ſoaked into the Principles of his Nature, from *his own inventions*. But this caſe may poſſibly very rarely fall out, and ſo ſhall not much be inſiſted on.

3. Our enquiry in our preſent conteſt, is ſolely about *Inſtituted Worſhip*, which we believe to depend on ſupernatural Revelation; the light of Nature can no way relieve or guide us in it or about it, becauſe

because it refers universally to things above, and beyond that light: but only with reference unto those Moral, Natural Circumstances, which appertain unto those actings or actions of men, whereby it is performed; which we willingly submit unto its guidance and direction.

Again, *Vocal Revelation* hath come under two considerations: First, As it was occasional. Secondly, As it became stated.

First, As it was occasional. For a long time God was pleased to guide his Church in many concerns of his Worship, by fresh occasional Revelations; even from the giving of the first promise unto *Adam*, unto the solemn giving of the Law by *Moses*. For although men had in process of time many *stated Revelations*, that were preserved by Tradition among them; as the first Promise; the Institution of Sacrifices, and the like: yet as to sundry emergencies of his Worship, and parts of it, God guided them by new Occasional Revelations. Now those Revelations being not recorded in the Scripture, as being only for present or emergent use; we have no way to know them, but by what those, to whom God was pleased so to reveal himself, did practise; and which, on good testimony found acceptance with him. Whatever they so did,

did, they had especial Warranty from God for; which is the case of the great Institution of Sacrifices it self. It is a sufficient Argument that they were Divinely instituted, because they were graciously accepted.

Secondly, *Vocal Revelation* as the Rule of Worship, became stated and invariable, in and by the giving and writing of the Law. From thence, with the allowances before mentioned, we confine it to the Scripture, and so unto all succeeding generations. I confess many of our company, who kept to us hitherto in granting Divine Revelation to be the sole Principle and Rule of Religious Worship, now leave us, and betake themselves to paths of their own. The *Postmisnicall Jews*, after many attempts made that way by their Predecessors, both before and after the Conversation of our Lord Christ in the flesh, at length took up a resolution, that all obligatory Divine Revelation was not contained in the Scripture; but was partly preserved by *Orall Tradition*. For although they added a multitude of Observances, unto what were prescribed unto their Fathers by *Moses*: yet they would never plainly forego that Principle, nor do to this day; that *Divine Revelation is the Rule of Divine Worship*.

Wherefore

Wherefore to ſecure their Principle and practice, and to reconcile them together, (which are indeed at an unſpeakable variance) they have fancied their *Oral Law*; which they aſſert to be of no leſs certain and Divine Original, than the Law that is written. On this pretence they plead, that they keep themſelves unto the fore-mentioned Principle, under the Superſtition of a multitude of ſelf-invented obſervances. The *Papiſts* alſo here leave us; but ſtill with a ſemblance of adhering to that Principle, which carryes ſo great and uncontrollable an evidence with it, as that there are very few as was ſaid, who have hitherto riſen up in a direct and open oppoſition unto it. For whereas they have advanced a double Principle for the Rule of Religious Worſhip, beſides the Scripture; namely Tradition, and the preſent Determinations of their Church, from thence educed; they aſſert the firſt to be Divine or Apoſtolical, which is all one; and the latter to be accompanyed with *Infallibility*, which is the formal Reaſon of our adherence and ſubmiſſion unto Divine Revelations. So that they ſtill adhere in general unto the fore-mentioned Principle; however they have debauched it by their advancement of thoſe other Guides.

But

But herein alſo, we muſt do them right; that they do not abſolutely turn looſe thoſe two rude creatures of their own; *Traditions*, and *preſent Church determinations*, upon the whole face of Religion, to act therein at their pleaſure; but they ſecure them from whatever is determined in the written word; affirming them to take place only in thoſe things, that are not *contrary to the Word*, or not condemned in it. For in ſuch, they confeſs, they ought not, nor can take place. Which I doubt whether our Author will allow of or no, in reference to the power by him aſſerted.

By Religious Worſhip, in the *Theſis* above, we underſtand, as was ſaid before, *inſtituted Worſhip only*, and not that which is purely Moral and Natural; which, in many inſtances of it, hath a great coincidence with the light of Nature, as was before diſcourſed.

We underſtand alſo the *Solemn or ſtated Worſhip* of the Church of God. That Worſhip, I ſay, which is ſolemn and ſtated, for the Church, the whole Church, at all times and ſeaſons, according to the rules of his appointment, is that which we enquire after. Hence in this matter, we have no concernment in the fact of this or that

that particular perſon, which might be
caſionally influenced by neceſſity; a
vids eating of the Shewbread was;
which, how far it may excuſe or juſt
the perſons that act thereon, or regu
their actions, directly, I know not, nor
any way engaged to enquire.

This is the ſtate of our Queſtion in ha
the mind of the Aſſertion, which is h
ſo hideouſly diſguiſed, and repreſen
in its pretended conſequences. Neith
do I think there is any thing needful fu
ther to be added unto it. But yet for t
clearing of it from miſtakes, ſometh
may be diſcourſed which relates unto
We ſay then;

Firſt, That there are ſundry things
be uſed in, about, and with thoſe Actio
whereby the Worſhip of God is perfor
ed, which yet are not Sacred, nor do
long unto the Worſhip of God as ſuc
though that Worſhip cannot be perform
without them. The very Breath that m
breathe, and the light whereby they ſe
are neceſſary to them in the Worſhip
God; and yet are not made Sacred
Religious thereby. *Conſtantine* ſaid of o
that he was a *Biſhop*, *but without the Churc*
not a Sacred Officer, but one that too
care, and had a ſuperviſorſhip of thin
nec

ceſſarily belonging to the performance Gods Worſhip, yet no Parts or Adjuncts it as ſuch. For it was all ſtill *without*. ow all thoſe things in or about the Wor- ip of God, that belonged unto *Conſtan- es Epiſcopacy*, that is the ordering and diſpoſal of things without the Church, but about it; without Worſhip, but about it; we acknowledge to be left unto common prudence, guided by the general Rules of Scripture, by which the Church is to walk and compoſe its actings. And this wholly ſuperſedes the Diſcourſe of our Author concerning the great variety of circum- ſtances, wherewith all humane actions are attended. For in one word, all ſuch cir- cumſtances as neceſſarily attend humane actions as ſuch, neither are Sacred, nor can be made ſo without an expreſs Inſtitution of God, and are, diſpoſable by humane Authority. So that the long conteſt of our Author on that Head, is altogether vain. So then,

Secondly, By all the concernments of Religious Worſhip, which any affirm, that they muſt be directed by Divine Re- velation, or regulated by the Scripture; they intend all that is Religious, or what- ever belongs to the Worſhip of God, as it is Divine Worſhip: and not what be-

longs

longs unto the actions, wherein and whe by it is performed, as they are actions.

Thirdly, That when any part of Worſhi is inſtituted in ſpecial, and general Rule are given for the practice of it *hic & nunc*: there the Warranty is ſufficient fo its practice at its due ſeaſons; and for thoſe ſeaſons the nature of the thing it ſelf, wit what it hath reſpect unto, and the ligh of the general Scripture Rules, will giv them an acceptable determination.

And theſe few Obſervations will abundantly manifeſt, the impertinency of thoſe who think it incumbent on any, by vertue of the Principle before laid down, to produce expreſs Warranty in words o Scripture, for every *Circumſtance* that doth attend and belong unto the Actions, where by the Worſhip of God is performed: which as they require not; ſo no ſuch thing is included in the Principle as duly ſtated. For particular circumſtances, tha have reſpect to good order, decency, and external regulation of Divine Worſhip, they are all of them either circumſtances of the Actions themſelves, whereby Divine Worſhip is performed and exerciſed, and ſo in general they are natural and neceſſary; which in particular, or *actu exercito*, depend on Moral Prudence; or Religious

gious Rites themſelves, added in and to the whole, or any parts of Divine Service, which alone in this queſtion come under enquiry.

I know there are uſually ſundry Exceptions put into this *Theſis*, as before ſtated and aſſerted: and inſtances to the contrary are pretended; ſome whereof are touched upon by our Author, *pag.* 181. which are not now particularly, and at large to be conſidered. But yet becauſe I am, beyond expectation, engaged in the Explication of this Principle, I ſhall ſet it ſo far forth right and ſtraight unto further examination, as to give in ſuch general Obſervations, as, being conſiſtent with it, and explanatory of it, will ſerve to obviate the moſt of the exceptions that are laid againſt it. As,

1. Where ever in the Scripture we meet with any Religious duty, that had a preceding Inſtitution, although we find not expreſly a conſequent Approbation, we take it for granted that it was approved; and ſo on the contrary, where an Approbation appears, and Inſtitution is concealed.

2. The Queſtion being only about Religious Duties, or things pertaining to, or required in or about the Worſhip of God;

no exception against the general *thesis* ca
take place, but such as consists in thing
directly of that nature. Instances in an
about things civil, and belonging meerly
to humane conversation, or things natu
ral, as signs and memorials one of another
are in this matter of no consideration.

3. Things extraordinary in their per
formance, and which, for ought we know
may have been so in their warranty o
rule, have no place in our debate. Fo
we are inquiring only after such things
as may warrant a suitable practice in us
without any further Authority, which is
the end, for which instances against this
principle are produced; this actions extra
ordinary will not do.

4. Singular and occasional Actions
which may be variously influenced and re
gulated by present circumstances, are no
Rule to guide the ordinary stated Wor
ship of the Church. *Davids* eating of th
shew-bread, wherein yet he was justifie
because of his hunger and necessity, wa
not to be drawn into Example of giving
the shew-bread promiscuously to the peo
ple. And sundry instances to the same pur
pose are given by our Saviour himself.

5. There is nothing of any dangerous or
bad consequence in this whole controver
sie,

ſie, but what lyes in the impoſition on mens practices of the Obſervation of uncommanded Rites, making them neceſſary unto them in their obſervation. The things themſelves are ſaid in their own nature, antecedent to their injunction for practice, to be indifferent, and indifferent as unto practice. What hurt would it be to leave them ſo? They cannot, ſay ſome, be omitted for ſuch and ſuch Reaſons. Are there then *Reaſons* for their obſervation beſides their Injunction, and ſuch as on the account whereof they are injoyned? Then are they indeed neceſſary in ſome degree before their Injunction. For all Reaſon for them muſt be taken from themſelves. And things wholly indifferent have nothing in themſelves one more than another, why one ſhould be taken, and another left. For if one have the advantage of another in the Reaſons for its practice, it is no more indifferent: at leaſt it is not comparatively ſo. Granting therefore, things injoyned to be antecedently to their injunction, equally indifferent in their own nature, with all other things of the ſame or the like kind, which yet are rejected or not injoyned; and then to give reaſons taken from themſelves, their decency, their conducingneſs to edification, their tendency

to the increaſe of devotion, their ſignificancy of this or that; is to ſpeak daggers and contradictions; and to ſay, a thing is indifferent before the injunction of its practice; but yet if we had thought ſo, we would never have enjoyned it; ſeeing we do ſo upon reaſons. And without doubt this making neceſſary the practice of things in the worſhip of God, proclaimed to be indifferent in themſelves, and no way called for by any antecedent Reaſon, is an act of power.

6. Where things are inſtituted of God, and he himſelf makes an Alteration in, or of his own Inſtitutions, thoſe Inſtitutions may be lawfully practiſed and obſerved, untill the mind of God for their Alteration and Abolition be ſufficiently revealed, propoſed, and confirmed unto them that are concerned in them. For as the making of a Law doth not oblige, untill, and without the promulgation of it, ſo as that any ſhould offend in not yielding obedience unto it; ſo upon the Abrogation of a Law, Obedience may be conſcientiouſly and without ſin yielded unto that Law, untill the Abrogation, by what act ſoever it was made, be notified and confirmed. An inſtance hereof we have in the obſervation of *Moſaical Rites*, in the forbearance of

of God, after the Law of their inſtitution was enervated, and the Obligation of it unto obedience really diſſolved; at leaſt the foundation of it laid; for the actual diſſolution of it depended on the declaration of the fact, wherein it was founded.

7. There may be a coincidence of things performed by ſundry perſons, at the ſame time and in the ſame place; whereof ſome may have reſpect unto Religious Worſhip directly, and ſo belong unto it; and others only occaſionally, and ſo not at all belong thereunto. As if when the *Athenians* had been worſhipping at their Altars, St. *Paul* had come, and reading the inſcription of one of them, and thence taking occaſion and advantage to preach the *unknown God* unto them; their Act was a part of Religious Veneration, his preſence and obſervation of them, and laying hold of that occaſion for his own purpoſe, was not ſo.

8. Many things, which are meer natural Circumſtances, requiſite unto the performance of all Actions in communities whatever, and ſo to be ordered by prudence according unto general rules of the word of God, may ſeem to be *Adjuncts of Worſhip*, unleſs they are followed to their Original, which will diſcover them to be of another nature.

9. Civil uſages and cuſtomes obſerved in a religious manner, as they are all to be by them that believe, and directed by them unto moral ends, may have a ſhew and appearance of Religious Worſhip; and ſo, according to the principle before ſtated, require expreſs inſtitution. But although they belong unto our living unto God in general; as do all things that we do, *ſeeing whether we eat or drink, we are to do all to the glory of God*; and therefore are to be done in faith; yet they are or may be no part of inſtituted worſhip, but ſuch Actions of life as in our whole courſe, we are to regulate by the rules of the Scripture, ſo farr as they afford us guidance therein.

10. Many obſervances in and about the Worſhip of God, are recorded in the Scripture, without eſpecial reflecting any blame or crime on them, by whom they were performed; (as many great ſins are *hiſtorically* only related, and left to be judged by the Rule of the word in other places, without the leaſt remark of diſpleaſure on the perſons guilty of them,) and that by ſuch whoſe Perſons were accepted of God; yea it may be in that very ſervice, wherein leſs or more they failed in their obſervation, God being merciful to them though

though not in all things prepared according to the preparation of the ſanctuary; and yet the things themſelves not to be approved nor juſtified, but condemned of God. Such was the fact of *Judas Maccabeus* in his offering ſacrifices for the ſin of them that were dead; and that of inſtituting an Aniverſary feaſt in commemoration of the *dedication of the Altar*.

This little ſearch have I made into this great *myſtery*, as it is called, of *Puritaniſm*, after which ſo mighty an outcry is raiſed by this Author; And if it might be here further purſued, it would as ſtated by us in theſe general Rules and Explications, be fully manifeſted to be a principle in general admitted, untill of late, by all ſorts of men: Some few only having been forced ſometimes to corrupt it, for the ſecurity of ſome eſpecial intereſt of their own. And it were an eaſie thing to confirm this Aſſertion by the teſtimonies of the moſt learned *Proteſtant writers*, that have ſerved the Church in the laſt ages. But I know how with many amongſt us they are regarded; and that the citation of ſome of the moſt reverend names among them, is not unlikely to prejudice and diſadvantage the cauſe, wherein their witneſs is produced. I ſhall not therefore expoſe them to the

contempt of thoſe, now they are dead, who would have been unwilling to have entred the liſts with them in any kind of learning, when they were alive. There is, in my apprehenſion, the ſubſtance of this Aſſertion ſtill retained among the Papiſts. *Bellarmine* himſelf layes it down as the foundation of all his controverſies; and indeavours to prove, *Propheticos & Apoſtolicos libros verum eſſe verbum Dei, & certam & ſtabilem regulam fidei. De verbo Dei. lib. 1. cap. 1. That the Prophetical and Apoſtoiclal books, are the true word of God, a certain and ſtable rule of faith*, will go a great way in this matter. For all our Obedience in the Worſhip of God is the obedienceof faith: and if the ſcripture be the *Rule of Faith*, our faith is not in any of its concerns, to be extended beyond it; no more than the thing regulated is tobe beyond the Rule.

Neither is this opinion of ſo late a date, as our Author and others would perſwade their credulous followers. The full ſenſe of it was ſpoken out roundly of old. So ſpeaks the great *Conſtantine* (that an Emperour may lead the way) in his Oration to the renowned Fathers aſſembled at *Nice*. Εὐαγγελικαὶ βίβλοι καὶ ἀποστολικαὶ, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν ἐν ἀσεσμάτα σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἃ χρὴ περὶ τοῦ θείου φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι; τὴν πολεμόπτον οὖν ἀπελάσαντες

τας ἐχειν, ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων λαβόμενον τῶν τηλουμένων τὴν γνῶσιν. i. e. *The Evangelical and Apostolical Books, and the Oracles of the Ancient Prophets, do plainly instruct us*[1], *what we are to think of Divine things. Laying aside therefore all hostile discord, let us resolve the things brought into Question, by the Testimonies of the writings given by divine inspiration.* We have here the full substance of what is pleaded for; and might the Advice of this Noble *Emperour* be admitted, we should have a readier way to expedite all our present Differences, than as yet seems to be provided for us. The *great Basil* speaks yet more expressly than *Constantine the great* *lib. de confes. fid.* ταυτὶ ἔκπτωσις, καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων. i. e. *It hath the manifest guilt of infidelity and pride, to reject any thing that is written, or to add or introduce any thing that is not written*; which is the summ of all that in this matter is contended for. To the same purpose he discourseth *Epist.* 80. *ad Eustath*: where moreover he rejects all pretences of Customs and usages of any sorts of men, and will have all differences to be brought for their Determination to the Scripture. *Chrysostome* in his *Homily* on *Psalm* 95. speaks the same sense. Saith he; καὶ τίς ὁ ταῦτα ἐγκαλέσας;

ρος; παῦλος. οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ἀμάρτυρον, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ λογισμῶν μόνον. ἐάν τι γὰρ ἄγραφον λέγηται, ἡ διάνοια τῶν ἀκροατῶν σκάζει, τοῦ μὲν ἐπιτεύοντα, τοῦ δὲ παραγραφομένη, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὸν λόγον ὡς ἔωλον ἀποστρεφομένη, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς πιθανὸν παραδεχομένη. ὅταν δὲ ἔγγραφος ἡ μαρτυρία τῆς θείας φωνῆς προέλθη, καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος τὴν διάνοιαν ἐβεβαίωσε. *Who is it that promiseth these things?* Paul. *For we are not to say any thing without Testimony, nor upon our meer Reasonings. For if any thing be spoken without Scripture (Testimony) the mind of the hearers fluctuates, now assenting, anon hesitating, sometimes rejecting what is spoken as frivolous, sometimes receiving it as probable. But where the Testimonies of the Divine Voice comes forth from the Scripture, it confirmeth the word of the Speaker, and the mind of the Hearer.* It is even so; whilest things relating to Religion and the Worship of God, are debated and disputed by the reasonings of men, or on any other principles besides the express Authority of the Scriptures, no certainty or full perswasion of mind can be attained about them. Men under such actings are as *Lucian* in his *Menippus*, says He was between the Disputations of the Philosophers; sometimes he nodded one way, sometimes another, and seemed to give his assent backwards and forwards to express contradictions.

faction. It is in the Teſtimony of the Scripture alone, about the things of God, that the Conſciences of thoſe that fear him can acquieſce and find ſatisfaction. The ſame Author as in many other places, ſo in his 13 *Homily* on the 2 Epiſt. to the *Corinth.* expreſly ſends us to the Scripture to enquire after all things, as that which is the exact *Canon, ballance, and Rule of Religion.* Παρὰ τῶν γραφῶν ταῦτα πάντα πυνθάνεσθε. Among the Latines *Tertullian* is expreſs to the ſame purpoſe. In his Book againſt *Hermogenes, Adoro* (ſaid he) *plenitudinem Scripturum quæ mihi factorem manifeſtat & facta----* again, *Scriptum eſſe hoc doceat Hermogenis officina, aut timeat, ræ illud, adjicientibus, aut detrahentibus deſtinatum. I Adore the fulneſs of the Scripture;——— And let Hermogenes prove what he ſaith, to be written, or fear the Woe denounced againſt them, who add to, or take from, the Word.* And again in his Book *de Carne Chriſti; Non recipio quod extra Scripturam de tuo infers. I do not receive, what you bring of your own without Scripture.* So alſo in his Book, *de Præſcriptionibus. Nobis nihil ex noſtro arbitrio indulgere licet; ſed nec eligere quod aliquis de arbitrio ſuo induxerit. Apoſtolos Domini habemus authores, qui nec ipſi quicquam ex ſuo arbitrio quod inducerent elegerunt,*

runt, ſed acceptam a Chriſto diſciplinam, deliter Nationibus aſſignaverunt. It is lawful for us (in theſe things) *to ind unto our own choice; nor to chooſe what one brings in of his chooſing. We have Apoſtles of our Lord for our Examp who brought in nothing of their own min or choice; But having received the Diſcipl* (of Chriſtian Religion) *from Chriſt, th faithfully communicated it to the Nation* Hierome is plain to the ſame purpoſe ſundry places. So Comment. in 23 *Matt Quod de Scripturis authoritatem non habet, e dem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur. Th which hath not Authority from the Scriptur is as eaſily deſpiſed as aſſerted.* Comm. i Hagg. cap. 1. *ſed & alia quæ abſq; authoritate & teſtimoniis ſcripturarum, quaſi traditione Apoſtolica ſponte reperiunt atq; confingunt, percutit gladius Dei; But thoſe other things which without Authority or Teſtimony of the Scriptures, they find out or faign of their own accord, as of Apoſtolical Tradition; the ſword of God ſmites through.* It were eaſie to produce twenty other Teſtimonies out of the Ancient Writers of the Church, giving ſufficient countenance to the Aſſertion contended about. What account our Author gives of this Principle is now, very briefly, to be conſidered.

First

First therefore, *pag.* 174, 175. he re-
es it as *a pretence wild and humourſome,*
ich men muſt be abſurd if they believe ;
impudent if they do not ; ſeeing it hath
t the leaſt ſhaddow or foundation either
m Scripture or Reaſon : though it be ex-
reſly aſſerted either in its own terms, or
nfirmed by direct deductions, in and
om above forty places of Scripture.
nd ſo much for that part of the aſ-
ult.

The next chargeth it with *infinite follies*
nd miſchiefs in thoſe which allow it.
And 'tis ſaid, that *there can never be an end*
f alterations and diſturbances in the Church,
whileſt it is maintained. The contrary
whereof is true, confirmed by Experi-
ence and Evidence of the thing it ſelf.
The admittance of it would put an End to
all diſturbances. For let any man judge,
whether, if there be matters in difference,
as in all theſe things there are and ever
were ; the bringing them to an iſſue and
a ſetled ſtability, be not likelier to be ef-
fected by all mens conſenting unto one
common Rule, whereby they may be tryed
and examined, than that every party
ſhould be left at liberty, to indulge to
their own Affections and Imaginations
about them. And yet we are told, p. 178.

that

that all the pious Villanies, that ever have disturbed the Christian World, have sheltered themselves in this grand Maxime; that Jesus Christ is the only Law-maker to his Church. I confess, I could heartily desire, that such expressions might be forborn. For, let what pretence men please be given to them, and colour put upon them; they are full of scandal to Christian Religion. The *Maxime* it self, here traduced, is as true as any part of the Gospel. And it cannot be pretended, that it is not the *Maxime* it self, but the abuse of it, (as all the Principles of the Gospel, through the Blindness and Lusts of men, have been abused;) that is reflected on: seeing the design of the whole Discourse is to evert the Maxime it self. Now whatever Apprehensions our Author may have of his own Abilities, I am satisfied, that they are no way competent to disprove this Principle of the Gospel; as will be evident on the first attempt he shall make to that purpose; let him begin the tryal as soon as he pleaseth.

In the third Section, we have an heap of instances raked together to confront the Principle, in its proper sense before declared and vindicated, in no one whereof it is at all concerned. For the Reasons of

of things, in matters Civil and Religious, are not the ſame. All political Government in the World conſiſts in the exerciſe of Principles of natural Right, and their juſt Application to Times, Ages, People, Occaſions and Occurences. Whileſt this is done, Government is acted regularly to its proper end: where this is miſſed, it failes. These things God hath left unto the prudence of men, and their conſent; wherein they cannot, for the moſt part, faile, unleſs they are abſolutely given up unto unbridled luſts; and the things, wherein they may faile, are alwaies convenient or inconvenient; good and uſeful, or hurtful and deſtructive; not alwaies, yea very ſeldome directly and in themſelves morally Good or Evil. In ſuch things mens eaſe and profit not their Conſciences, are concerned. In the Worſhip of God things are quite otherwiſe. It is not Convenience or Inconvenience, Advantage or diſadvantage, as to the things of this life, but meerly Good or Evil, in reference to the pleaſing of God, and to Eternity, that is in queſtion. Particular Applications to the manners, cuſtomes, uſages of places, times, Countreys, which is the proper field of humane Authority, Liberty, and prudence in Civil things, (becauſe their

due

due, uſeful, and regular Adminiſtration d
pends upon them;) have here no pla
For the things of the Worſhip of God b
ing Spiritual, are capable of no variatio
from temporal earthly varieties amon
men; have no reſpect to Climate
Cuſtomes, Formes of Civil Governmen
or any thing of that Nature. But co
ſidering men quite under other notions
namely, of Sinners and Believers; wit
reſpect utterly unto other ends, namely
their living ſpiritually unto God here, an
the eternal enjoyment of him hereafter
are not ſubject to ſuch prudential Accom-
modations or Applications. The Wor-
ſhip of God is or ought to be, the ſame at
all times, in all places, and amongſt all Peo-
ple, in all Nations; and the order of it is
fixt and determined in all particulars, that
belong unto it. And let not men pretend
the contrary, untill they can give an in-
ſtance of any ſuch defect in the Inſtitu-
ons of Chriſt, as that the Worſhip of God
cannot be carryed on, nor his Church
Ruled and Edified, without an addi-
tion of ſomething of their own for the
ſupply thereof; which therefore ſhould
and would be neceſſary to that end
antecedent unto its addition; and when
they have ſo done, I will ſubſcribe unto
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whatsoever they shall be pleased to add of that, or indeed any other kind. *Customes of Churches*, and *Rules of Decency*, which our Author here casts under the Magistrates power, are ambiguous terms, and in no sense express the *Hypothesis* he hath undertaken the defence of. In the proper signification of the words, the things intended may fall under those natural Circumstances, wherein Religious Actions in the Worship of the Church may have their concern, as they are Actions, and are dispo'able by humane Authority. But he will not, I presume, so soon desert his fundamental Principle, of the Magistrates appointing things in, and parts of Religious Worship, no where described or determined in the Word of God; which alone we have undertaken to oppose. The instances he also gives us about Actions, in their own nature and use indifferent; *as going to Law*, or *taking Physick*; are not, in the least, to his purpose. And yet if I should say, that none of these Actions are indeed indifferent in *actu exercito*, as they speak, and in their individual performance, but have a Moral good or evil, as an inseparable Adjunct, attending them, arising out of respect to some Rule, general or particular, of Di-

vine Revelation, I know he cannot di
prove it; and much more is not pleade
concerning Religious Worſhip.

But this Principle is further charge
with *miſchief equal to its folly*; which i
proved by inſtances in ſundry uninſtitu
ted Obſervances, both in the *Jewiſh*, an
primitive Chriſtian *Churches*; as alſo i
Proteſtant Churches abroad. I anſwer
that if this Author will conſent to Um
pire theſe differences by either the Ol
or New Teſtament, or by any Proteſtant
Church in the World; we ſhall be near
er an end of them, than, as far as I can
ſee, yet otherwiſe we are. If he will
not be bound, neither to the Example of
the Church of the Jews; nor of the
Churches of the New-Teſtament; nor of
the preſent Proteſtant Churches; it muſt
he confeſſed, that their names are here
made uſe of, only for a pretence and an
Advantage. Under the Old Teſtament
we find, that all that God required of his
Church, was, that *they ſhould obſerve the
Law of* Moſes *his Servant, which he com-
manded to him in* Horeb, *for all Iſrael,
with his Statutes and Judgements*, Mal. 4. 4.
And when God had given out his Inſtitu-
tions, and the whole Order of his Wor-
ſhip, it being fixed in the Church ac-
cordingly

ordingly; it
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he Lord comm
Exod. 40. A
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Deut. 4. 2. an
And as he ha
any Worſhip
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ngly ; it is added eight or ten times
e Chapter, that this was done, *as*
ord commanded Moſes, even ſo did he,
. 40. After this God gives them ma-
rict prohibitions, from adding any
to what he had ſo commanded ; as
4. 2. and *Chap.* 12. 32. *Prov.* 30. 6.
s he had in the Decalogue rejected
Worſhip not of his own appointment
h, *Exod.* 20. 4, 5. ſo he made it af-
rds the Rule of his acceptation of
eople and what they did, or his re-
of them and it ; whether it was by
ommanded or no. So in Particular, he
ly rejects that which was ſo added,
dayes, and *times*, and *places*, though
e neareſt Affinity and Cognation to
was appointed by himſelf, becauſe
invented by man ; yea by a King,
s 12. 33. And when in proceſs of
many things of an uncertain origi-
ere crept into the obſervance of the
n, and had firmed themſelves with the
of Traditions ; they were all at
jected in that word of the bleſſed
One ; *in vain do ye Worſhip me, teaching*
trines (that is, what is in my Wor-
o be obſerved,) *the traditions of*
For the Churches of the New Teſta-
the foundation of them is laid in

that command of our Saviour, *Matth.* 28. 20. go and Teach all Nations; *teaching them to observe and do all whatsoever I command you, and lo I am with you to the end of the world.* That they should be taught to do or observe any thing, but what he commanded; that his presence should accompany them in the teaching or observation of any superadditions of their own; we no where find written, intimated, or exemplified by any practice of theirs. Nor, however, in that juncture of time, the like whereunto did never occur before, nor ever shall do again, during the expiration and taking down of *Mosaical* Institutions, before they became absolutely unlawful to be observed, the Apostles, according to the liberty given them by our Lord Jesus Christ, and direction of the Holy Ghost, did practise some things complyant with both Church-states, did they, in any one instance, impose any thing on the practice of the Churches in the Worship of God, to be necessarily and for a continuance observed among them, but what they had express Warrant, and Authority and command of our Lord Christ for. Counsel they gave in particular cases, that depended upon present emergencies; Directions

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Rules in particular practice; They
aught a due and ſanctified uſe of
cuſtomes; and the proper uſe of
l or Natural Symbols. But to impoſe
Religious Rites on the conſtant pra-
of the Church in the Worſhip of
making them neceſſary to be alwaies
ed by that impoſition, they did not
attempt to do, or aſſume power for
hemſelves. Yea, when upon an im-
t difficulty, and to prevent a ruin-
andal, they were enforced to declare
udgement to the Churches in ſome
, wherein they were to abridge the
ce of their Chriſtian liberty for a
; they would do it only in things
neceſſary by the ſtate of things then
the Churches, (in reference to the
nd of edification, whereby all pra-
are to be regulated) before the de-
on of their judgement, for the re-
n mentioned, *Acts* 15. So remote
they from aſſuming unto themſelves
inion over the Religion, Conſcien-
faith of the Diſciples of Chriſt; or
ing any thing in the conſtant Wor-
the Church, but what was accord-
the Will, Appointment and Com-

mand of their Lord and Maſter. Little countenance therefore is our Author like to obtain unto his ſentiments, from the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; or the Example either of the *Jews* or *Chriſtians* mentioned in them.

The Inſtances he gives from the Church of the Jewes, or that may be given, are either Civil Obſervances, as the *feaſt of Purim*; or Moral conveniencies directed by general Rules, as the *building of Synagogues*; or cuſtomary ſignes ſuited to the nature of things, as *wearing of Sackcloth*; or ſuch as have no proof of their being approved, as *the feaſt of Dedication*, and ſome *monethly Faſts* taken up in the Captivity, from none of which any objection can be taken againſt the poſition before laid down. Thoſe from the Church of the new Teſtament had either a perpetual binding inſtitution from the Authority of Chriſt, as the *Lords day Sabbath*; or contain only a direction to uſe Civil Cuſtomes and Obſervances in an holy and ſanctified manner, *as the Love Feaſts and Kiſs of Charity*; or ſuch as were never heard of in the New Teſtament at all, as the *obſervation of Lent and Faſter*. He that out of theſe inſtances can draw a warranty for the power of the Civil Magiſtrate over Religion and the Conſciences

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ces of men, to institute new duties in
gion when he pleaseth, so these do *not*
enance Vice, nor disgrace the Deity;
h all his Christian Subjects shall be
d in conscience to observe; or other-
make good any of those particulat
lusions, that therefore *Christ is not the*
Law giver to his Church; or that *Divine*
lation is not the adequate rule of Divine
hip; or that men may add any thing
ne Worship of God, to be observed
, constantly and indispensiely, by the
e Church; will manifest himself to
an Excellency in Argumentation, be-
what I have ever yet met withal.
emoval of the Argument taken from
erfection of the Scripture, and its
iency to instruct us in the whole Coun-
d Will of God, concerning his Wor-
and our Obedience unto him, is next-
empted: but with no Engines, but
have been discovered to be insuffici-
o that purpose an hundred times. It
dged, *That what the Scripture commands*
Worship of God, is to be observed; *that*
it forbids, is to be avoided. Which if
acknowledged, and a concernment
e Consciences of men be granted
in, is sufficiently destructive of the
pal Design of our Author. But

moreover I ſay, that it commands and forbids things by general Rules, as well by particular Precepts and Inhibitions and that, if what is ſo commanded be obſerved, and what is ſo forbidden be avoided, there is a direct Rule remaining in for the whole worſhip of God.

But this is ſaid here to be of *ſubſtantial duties, but not of external circumſtances*; and if it be ſo even of *ſubſtantial duties* it perfectly overthrows all that our Author hath been pleading in the three firſt Chapters of his Diſcourſe. For *external circumſtances*; of what nature thoſe are which are diſpoſable by humane Authority and Prudence, hath been now often declared and needs not here to be repeated.

The ſumm of his Apprehenſions in this matter, about the perfection and ſufficiency of the Scripture in reference to the Worſhip of God, our Author gives us *pag.* 189. *Anything*, ſaith he, *is lawful* (that *is*, in the Worſhip of God) *that is not made unlawful by ſome prohibition: for things become evil, not upon the ſcore of there being not commanded; but upon that of their being forbidden. And what the Scripture forbids not, it allows; and what it allows, is not unlawful; and what is not unlawful, may lawfully be done.* This tale, I confeſs, we have

have been told many and many a time: but it hath been as often answered, that the whole of It, as to any thing of reasoning, is captious and sophistical.

Once more therefore; what is commanded in the Worship of God, is lawful; yea is our duty to observe. All particular Instances of this sort, that are to have actual place in the Worship of God, were easily enumerated, and so expressly commanded. And why among sundry things that might equally belong thereunto one should be commanded, and another left at liberty without any Institution, no man can divine. Of particular things not to be observed there is not the same reason. It is morally impossible, that all instances of mens Inventions, all that they can find out to introduce into the Worship of God, at any time, in any Age, and please themselves therein, should be before hand enumerated, and prohibited in their particular instances. And if because they are not so forbidden, they may lawfully be introduced into Divine Worship, and imposed upon the practices of men; ten thousand things may be made lawful, and be so imposed. But the truth is, although a particular prohibition be needful to render a thing evil in it self; a general pro-

prohibition is enough to render any thing unlawful in the Worſhip of God. So we grant, that what is not forbidden is lawful: but withal ſay, that every thing is forbidden, that ſhould be eſteemed as any part of Divine Worſhip, that is not commanded; and if it were not, yet for want of ſuch a command, or Divine Inſtitution, it can have neither uſe nor efficacy, with reſpect to the end of all Religious Worſhip.

Our Author ſpeaks with his wonted confidence in this matter; yea it ſeems to riſe to its higheſt pitch: as alſo doth his contempt of his Adverſaries, or whatever is, or may be offered by them in the juſtification of this principle. *Infinite certainty* on his own part, pag. 193. *baffled and intolerable impertinencies*; *weak and puny Arguments*; *Cavils of a few hot-headed and brainſick people*, with other opprobrious expreſſions of the like nature, filling up a great part of his leaves, are what he can afford unto thoſe whom he oppoſeth. But yet I am not, for all this bluſter, well ſatisfied, much leſs *infinitely certain*, that he doth in any competent meaſure underſtand aright the Controverſie, about which he treats with all this wrath and confidence. For the ſumm of all,

, that here he pleads, is no more but
is; that the *Circumſtances of Actions in*
rticular are various, and as they are not,
they cannot be determined by the Word of
od; and therefore muſt be ordered by hu-
ane Prudence and Authority: which if he
ppoſe that any men deny, I ſhall the leſs
onder at his ſevere Reflections upon
em; though I ſhall never judge them ne-
ſſary or excuſable in any caſe what-
er. *Pag.* 198. He impoſeth it on others
at lye under the power of this perſwaſi-
n, *That they are obliged in conſcience to act*
ntrary to whatever their Superiours command
em in the Worſhip of God: which further
fficiently evidenceth, that either he un-
erſtands not the Controverſie under de-
ate, or that he believes not himſelf in
hat he ſaith: which, becauſe the harſher
nputation, I ſhall avoid the owning of
the leaſt ſurmiſe.

Section 6. From the Conceſſion, that the
agiſtrate *may take care, that the Laws of*
hriſt be executed; that is, command and
equire his Subjects to obſerve the com-
ands of Chriſt, in that way, and by ſuch
eans, as thoſe commands, from the nature
f the things themſelves, and according
o the Rule of the Goſpel, may be com-
anded and required; he infers, that he
hath

hath himſelf *power of making Laws in Religion.* But why ſo? And how doth this follow? Why, ſaith he, *It is apparently implyed, becauſe whoever hath a power to ſee the Laws be executed, cannot be without a power to command their execution.* Very good: but the concluſion ſhould have been; he *cannot be without a power to make Laws in the matter, about which he looks to the execution:* which would be good Doctrine for Juſtices of the Peace to follow. But what is here laid down is nothing but repeating of the ſame thing in words a little varied; as if it had been ſaid; *He that hath power to ſee the Laws executed, or a power to command their execution, he hath power to ſee the Laws executed, or a power to command their execution;* which is very true. And this we acknowledge the Magiſtrate hath, in the way before declared. But that becauſe he may do this, he may alſo make Laws of his own in Religion, it doth not at all follow from hence, whether it be true or no. But this is further confirmed from the *nature of the Laws of Chriſt, which have only declared the ſubſtance and morality of Religious Worſhip: and therefore muſt needs have left the ordering of its circumſtances to the power and wiſdom of lawful Authority.* The Laws of Chriſt, which are intended, are thoſe,

thoſe, which he hath given concerning the Worſhip of God. That theſe have determined the *morality of Religious Worſhip*, I know not how he can well allow, who makes the Law of Nature to be the meaſure of Morality, and all Moral Religious Worſhip. And for the *ſubſtance of Religious Worſhip*, I wiſh it were well declared what is intended by it. For my part I think, that whatever is commanded by Chriſt, the Obſervation of it, is of the ſubſtance of Religious Worſhip; elſe I am ſure the *Sacraments* are not ſo. Now do but give men leave, as rational creatures, to obſerve thoſe commands of Chriſt in ſuch a way and manner, as the nature of them requires them to be obſerved; as he hath himſelf in general Rules preſcribed; as the concurrent actions of many in ſociety make neceſſary; and all this Controverſie will be at an end. When a duty, as to the kind of it, is commanded in particular, or inſtituted by Chriſt in the Worſhip of God, he hath given general Rules to guide us in the individual performance of it, as to the circumſtances that the actions whereby it is performed, will be attended withal. For the diſpoſal of thoſe circumſtances according to thoſe Rules, prudence is to take place and to be uſed.

For

For men, who are obliged to act as men in all other things, are not to be looked on as Brutes in what is required of them in the Worſhip of God.

But to inſtitute *Myſtical Rites*, and *fixed forms* of Sacred Adminiſtrations, whereof nothing in the like kind doth neceſſarily attend the acting of inſtituted Worſhip, is not to determine circumſtances, but to ordain new parts of Divine Worſhip: and ſuch Injunctions are here confeſſed by our Author, *pag.* 191. to be *new and diſtinct commands by themſelves*, and to enjoyn ſomething that the Scripture no where commands: which when he produceeth a Warranty for, he will have made a great progreſs towards the determining of the preſent Controverſie.

Page 192. He anſwers an Objection, conſiſting of two branches, as by him propoſed: whereof the firſt is; *that it cannot ſtand with the love and wiſdom of God not to take order himſelf for all things, that immediately concern his own Worſhip and Kingdom.* Now though I doubt not at all, but that God hath ſo done; yet I do not remember at preſent, that I have read any impoſing the neceſſity hereof upon him, in anſwer to his Love and Wiſdom. I confeſs *Valerianus Magnus*, a famous Writer of the Church

Church of *Rome*, tells us, that never any one did so foolishly institute or order a Commonwealth, as Jesus Christ must be thought to have done; if he have not left one Supream Judge to determine the faith and Consciences of men in matters of Religion and Divine Worship. And our Author seems not to be remote from that kind of reasoning, who, without an assignment of a power to that purpose, contendeth that all things among men will run into confusion; of so little concernment do the Scriptures and the Authority of God in them, to some seem to be. We do indeed thankfully acknowledge, that God out of his Love and Wisdom hath ordered all things belonging to his Worship and Spiritual Kingdom in the world. And we do suppose, we need no other Argument to evince this Assertion, but to challenge all men, who are otherwise minded, to give an instance of any defect in his Institutions to that purpose. And this we are the more confirmed in, because those things, which men think good to add unto them, they dare not contend that they are parts of his Worship; or that they are added to supply any defect therein. Neither did ever any man yet say, that there is a defect in the divine Institutions of Worship, which must

muſt be ſupplyed by a Miniſters wearing a Surplice. All then that is intended in this conſideration, though not urged, as is here pretended, is; that God in his Goodneſs, Love and Care towards his Church, hath determined all things that are needful in or to his Worſhip: and about what is not needful, men, if they pleaſe, may contend; but it will be to no great purpoſe.

The other part of the Objection, which he propoſeth to himſelf, is laid down by him in theſe words; *If Jeſus Chriſt hath not determined all particular Rites and Circumſtances of Religion, he hath diſcharged his Office with leſs wiſdom and fidelity than* Moſes; *who ordered every thing appertaining to the Worſhip of God, even as far as the pins or nails of the Tabernacle.* And hereunto in particular he returns in anſwer, not one word: but only ranks it amongſt *idle and impertinent reaſonings.* And I dare ſay, he wants not reaſons for his ſilence: whether they be *pertinent* or no, I know not. For ſetting aſide the advantage, that, it is poſſible, he aimed to make in the manner and terms of the propoſal of this Objection to his Sentiments; and it will appear, that he hath not much to offer for its removal. We diſpute not about the *Rites and Circumſtances of Religion*, which

are

are termes ambiguous, and, as hath been declared, may be variouſly interpreted, no more than we do about the *nails of the Tabernacle*, wherein there were none at all. But it is about the Worſhip of God and what is neceſſary thereunto. The ordering hereof, that is, of the Houſe of God and all things belonging thereunto, was committed to Jeſus Chriſt, *as a Son over his own houſe*, Heb. 3. 3, 4, 5. In the diſcharge of his truſt herein, he was *faithful as was Moſes*; who received that teſtimony from God, that he *was faithful in all his houſe*, upon his ordering all things in the Worſhip of God as he commanded him, without adding any thing of his own thereunto, or leaving any thing uninſtituted or undetermined, which was to be of uſe therein. From the faithfulneſs of Chriſt, therefore, in and over the houſe of God, as it is compared with the *faithfulneſs of Moſes*, it may be concluded, I think; that he ordered all things for the Worſhip of God in the Churches of the New Teſtament, as far as *Moſes* did in and for the Church of the old; and more is not contended for. And it will be made appear, that his Commiſſion in this matter was as extenſive, as that of *Moſes* at the leaſt; or he could not, in that truſt and the diſcharge of it, have that

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preheminence above him, which in th
place is aſcribed unto him.

Section 7. An account is given of th
great variety of circumſtances, which do a
tend all humane actions: whence it is im
poſſible that they ſhould be all determine
by Divine Preſcription. The ſame we ſa
alſo; but add withal, that if men woul
leave theſe circumſtances free under th
conduct of common prudence in the in
ſtituted Worſhip of God, as they are com
pelled ſo to do in the performance of Mo
ral Duties, and as he himſelf hath le
them free; it would be as convenient fo
the Reaſons and Conſciences of men, a
an attempt to the contrary. Thus we hav
an inſtance given us by our Author in th
Moral Duty of Charity; which is commande
ed us of God himſelf; but the *times, ſea*
ſons, manner, objects, meaſures of it are le
free, to be determined by humane pru
dence, upon emergencies and occaſions.
It may be now enquired, whether the
Magiſtrate, or any other, can determine
thoſe circumſtances by a Law? and whe
ther they are not, as by God, ſo by al
wiſe men, left free, under the conduct
of their Reaſon and Conſcience, who are
obliged to the duty it ſelf by the command
of God? And why may not the ſame Rule
and

and Order be obſerved with reſpect to the circumſtances that attend the performance of the duties of inſtituted Worſhip? Beſides, there are general circumſtances that are capable of a determination: ſuch are time and place as naturally conſidered, without ſuch Adjuncts as might give them a moral conſideration, or render them good or evil; theſe the Magiſtrate may determine. But for particular circumſtances attending individual actions, they will hardly be regulated by a ſtanding Law. But none of theſe things have the leaſt intereſt in our debate. To add things neceſſarily to be obſerved in the Worſhip of God, no way naturally related unto the actions wherewith preſcribed Worſhip is to be performed, and then to call them circumſtances thereof, erects a notion of things which nothing but intereſt can digeſt and concoct.

His eighth *Section* is unanſwerable. It contains ſuch a ſtrenuous reviling of the *Puritans*, and contemptuous reproaches of their Writings, with ſuch *Encomiums* of their Adverſaries, as there is no dealing with it. And ſo I leave it. And ſo likewiſe I do his ninth, wherein, as he ſaith, *he upbraids the men of his conteſt with their ſhameful overthrows: and dares them to look*

thoſe enemies in the face, that have ſo lamentably cowed them, by ſo many abſolute triumphs and victories. Which kind of *juvenile exultations* on feigned ſuppoſitions, will, I ſuppoſe, in due time receive an allay from his own more adviſed thoughts and conſiderations. The inſtance, wherewith he countenaunceth himſelf in his triumphant Acclamations unto the victory of his party, is the Book of Mr. *Hooker* and its being unanſwered. Concerning which I ſhall only ſay; that, as I wiſh the ſame moderation, ingenuity and learning unto all, that engage in the ſame cauſe with him in theſe dayes; ſo if this Author will mind us of any one Argument in his longſome Diſcourſe, not already frequently anſwered, and that in Print, long ago, that it ſhall have its due conſideration. But this kind of Diſcourſes, it may be, on ſecond thoughts will be eſteemed not ſo comely. And I can mind him of thoſe, who boaſt as highly of ſome Champions of their own againſt all Proteſtants, as he can do of any Patron of thoſe Opinions, which he contendeth for. But it doth not alwayes fall out, that thoſe who have the moſt outward advantages, and greateſt leiſure, have the beſt cauſe, and abilities to mannage it.

The next Sections treat concerning *Superſtition*, *Will-worſhip* and *Popery*; which, as he ſaith, having been charged by ſome on the Church unduly, he retorts the crime of them upon the Authors of that charge. I love not to ſtrive, nor will I contend about words that may have various ſignifications fixed on them. It is about things that we differ. That which is evil, is ſo, however you call it, and whether you can give it any ſpecial name or no. That which is good, will ſtill be ſo, call it what and how men pleaſe. The giving of a bad or odious name to any thing, doth not make it ſelf to be bad or odious. The managing therefore of thoſe Appellations, either as to their charge or recharge, I am no way concerned in. When it is proved, that men believe, teach or practiſe otherwiſe, than in duty to God they ought to do; then they do evil: and when they obey his mind and will in all things, then they do well; and in the end will have the praiſe thereof. In particular, I confeſs *Superſtition*, as the Word is commonly uſed, denotes a *vicious habit of mind* with reſpect unto God and his Worſhip; and ſo is not a proper denomination for the *Worſhip it ſelf*, or of any evil or crime in it. But yet, if it were worth contending about, I

could eaſily manifeſt, that according to the uſe of the word by good Authors in all Ages, men have been charged with that crime, from the kind and nature of the Worſhip it ſelf obſerved by them. And when St. *Paul* charged the *Athenians* with an *exceſs in Superſtition*, it was from the multiplication of their Gods, and thronging them together, right or wrong, in the dedication of their Altars. But theſe things belong not at all to our preſent deſign. Let them, who enjoyn things unto an indiſpenſible neceſſary Obſervation in the Worſhip of God, which are not by him preſcribed therein, take care of their own minds, that they be free from the *Vice of Superſtition*; and they ſhall never be judged, or charged by me therewith. Though I muſt ſay, that a multiplication of Inſtances in this kind, as to their own obſervation, is the principle, if not the only way whereby men who own the true and proper object of Religious Worſhip, do or may manifeſt themſelves to be influenced by that corrupt habit of mind; ſo that they may relate unto Superſtition, as the Effect to its Cauſe. But the Recrimination here inſiſted on, with reſpect unto them, who refuſe admittance unto, or obſervance of things ſo enjoyned, is ſuch as ought to

be expected from provocations, and a desire of Retortion. Such things usually taste of the Cask; and are sufficiently weak and impertinent. For it is a mistake, that those charged do make, as 'tis here expressed, *any thing necessary not to be done*; or put *any Religion in the not doing of any thing*, or the non-observance of any Rites, Orders, or Ceremonies; any other, than every one puts in his abstinence from what God forbids; which is a part of our Moral Obedience.

And the whole Question, in this matter, is not, whether, as it is here phrased, *God hath tyed up his creatures to nice and pettish Laws; laying a greater stress upon a doubtful or indifferent Ceremony, than upon the great duty of obedience.* But meerly, whether men are to observe in the Worship of God, what they apprehend he hath enjoyned them; and to abstain from what he doth forbid; according to all the light that they have into his mind and will; Which enquiry, as I suppose, may be satisfied; that they are so to practise, and so to abstain, without being lyable to the charge of *Superstition.* No man can answer for the minds of other men; nor know what depraved vicious habits and inclinations, they are subject unto. Outward actions are all,

that we are in any case allowed to pass judgement upon; and of mens minds, as those Actions are Indications of them. Let men therefore, observe and do in the Worship of God whatever the Lord Christ hath commanded them; and abstain from what he hath forbidden, whether in particular instances, or by general directive precepts and Rules, by which means alone many things are capable of falling under a prohibition; without the least thought of placing any Worship of God in their abstinence from this or that thing in particular; and I think, they need not much concern themselves in the charge of superstition, given in, or out, by any against them.

For what is discoursed Section 11. about *will-worship*, I cannot so far agree with our Author, as I could in what passed before about superstition; and that partly because I cannot discern him to be herein at any good Agreement with himself. For *superstition*, he tells us, *consists in the Apprehensions of men, when their minds are possessed with weak and uncomly conceits of God*, pag. 201. here, *that will-worship is one sort of superstition*; and yet this will-worship consists *in nothing else, than in mens making their own phancys and inventions necessary*

ceſſary parts of Religion, which outward actings are not coincident with the inward frame and habit of mind before deſcribed. And I do heartily wiſh, that ſome men could well free themſelves from the charge of *will worſhip*, as it is here deſcribed by our Author; though cauteloufly expreſſed, to ſecure the concernments of his own Intereſt from it. For although I will not call the things, they contend to impoſe on others in the worſhip of God, their *phancys*; yet themſelves acknowledge them to be their *Inventions*: and when they make them neceſſary to be obſerved in the whole Worſhip of God, as publick and ſtated; and forbid the celebration of that Worſhip without them; when they declare their Uſefulneſs, and ſpiritual or myſtical ſignificancy in that Worſhip or ſervice, deſigned to Honour God in or by their uſe; ſetting up ſome of them to an Excluſion of what Chriſt hath commanded; if I cannot underſtand, but that they make them neceſſary parts of Gods Worſhip, as to the actual obſervance of it, I hope they will not be angry with me: ſince I know the worſt they can poſſibly with truth charge upon me in this matter, is, that I am not ſo wiſe, nor of ſo quick an underſtanding as themſelves. Neither doth our

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Author well remove his charge from those whose defence he hath undertaken: for he doth it only by this conſideration; *that they do not make the things, by them introduced in the Worſhip of God, to be parts of Religion. They are not ſo*, he ſaith, *nor are made ſo by them.* For this hinders not, but that they may be looked on as *parts of Divine Worſhip*; ſeeing we are taught by the ſame hand, *that external Worſhip is no part of Religion at all.* And let him abide by what he cloſeth this ſection withall; namely, that they make not any Addition to the Worſhip of God, but only provide, that what God hath required, be performed in an *orderly and decent manner*, and as to my concern, there ſhall be an end of this part of our controverſie.

The enſuing *paragraphs* about Chriſtian *Liberty*; *adding to the commands of God*; *and Popery*; are of the ſame nature with thoſe preceeding about ſuperſtition and Will-worſhip. There is nothing new in them, but words; and they may be briefly paſſed through. For the charge of *Popery*, on the one ſide or other, I know nothing in it; but that, when any thing is injoyned or impoſed on mens practice in the Worſhip of God, which is known to have been invented in and by the Papal Church during

uring the time of its confeſſed Apoſta-
y, it muſt needs beget prejudices againſt
t in the minds of them, who conſider the
ayes, means, and ends of the *fatal de-*
ection of that Church; and are jealous of
ſinful complyance with it in any of thoſe
hings. The Recharge on thoſe, who are
aid *to ſet up a Pope in every mans conſcience,*
whileſt they veſt it with a power of counter-
manding the decrees of Princes; if no more
be intended, *by countermanding*, but a re-
ſuſal to obſerve their decrees, and yield
Obedience to them in things againſt their
Conſciences, which is all can be pretend-
ed; if it fall not on this Author himſelf,
as in ſome caſes it doth; and which by the
certain conduct of right reaſon, muſt be
extended to all, wherein the Conſciences
of men are affected with the Authority of
God; yet it doth on all Chriſtians in the
World, that I know of, beſides himſelf.
For *adding to the Law of God*, it is not
charged on any, that they *add to his com-*
mands; as though they made their own
divine, or part of his word and law: but
only that they add in his Worſhip to
the things commanded by him, which
being forbidden in the Scripture, when
they can free themſelves from it, I ſhall
rejoyce; but as yet ſee not how they can

ſo

ſo do. Nor are there any, that I kn
of, who *ſet up any prohibitions of their o*
in or about the Worſhip of God, or a
thing thereunto pertaining, as is undu
and unrighteouſly pretended. There m
be indeed ſome things injoyned by m
which they do and muſt abſtain from,
they would do from any other ſin whatev
But their conſciences are regulated by
prohibitions, but thoſe of God himſe
And things are prohibited and made ſin
unto them, not only when in particula
and by a ſpecification of their inſtance
they are forbidden; but alſo when the
lye general prohibitions againſt them o
any account whatever. Some men inde
think, that if a *particular prohibition* of a
thing might be produced, they would a
quieſce in it; whilſt they plead an e
emption of ſundry things from being i
cluded in general prohibitions; althou
they have the direct formal Reaſon attend
ing them, on which thoſe prohibition
are founded. But it is to be feared, th
this alſo is but a pretence. For let an
thing be particularly forbidden, yet i
mens intereſt and ſuperſtition induc
them to obſerve or retain it; they will find
out diſtinctions to evade the prohibition
and retain the practice. What can be more

direct

irectly forbidden, than the *making or uſe-g of graven Images*, in or about Religious Vorſhip? and yet we know how little ome men do acquieſce in that prohibi-ion. And it was the Obſervation of a *earned Prelate* of this Nation, in his re-ection of the diſtinctions whereby they ndeavoured to countenance themſelves in heir Idolatry; that the particular inſtances f things forbidden in the ſecond Com-mandment, are not principally intended; ut the general Rule, of not adding any hing in the Worſhip of God without his nſtitution. *Non imago*, ſaith he, *non ſi-mulachrum prohibetur; ſed non facies tibi.* What way, therefore, any thing becomes a ſin unto any, be it by a particular or general prohibition; be it from the *ſcandal* that may attend its practice; unto him it is a ſin. And it is a wild notion, that when any perſons abſtain from the practice of that in the Worſhip of God, which to them is ſinful as ſo practiſed, they add *prohibitions* of their own to the commands of God.

The ſame is to be ſaid concerning *Chri-ſtian Liberty*. No man, that I know of, makes *things indifferent to be ſinful*, as is pretended; nor can any man in his right wits do ſo. For none can entertain con-tradictory notions of the ſame thing, at the

the ſame time: as thoſe are, that the ſa
things are *indifferent*, that is, not ſinfu
and *ſinful*. But this ſome ſay; that thi
in their own nature indifferent, that
abſolutely ſo, may be yet relatively
lawful; becauſe with reſpect unto that
lation forbidden of God. To ſet up
Altar of old for a Civil memorial in
place, was a thing indifferent: but to
up an Altar to offer Sacrifices on, wh
the Tabernacle was not, was a ſin. I
indifferent for a man that underſtands t
Language, to read the Scripture in *La*
or in *Engliſh*: but to read it in *Latine* u
a Congregation that underſtands it o
as a part of Gods Worſhip, would be
Nor doth our *Chriſtian Liberty* conſiſt al
in our judgement of the indifferency
things in their own nature, made nec
ſary to practice by commands, as hath b
ſhewed. And if it doth ſo, the *Jews* h
that priviledge as much as Chriſtians. A
they are eaſily offended, who complai
that their Chriſtian Liberty, in the p
ctice of what they think meet in the Wo
ſhip of God, is intrenched on, by ſuch,
leaving them to their pleaſure, becauſe
their Apprehenſion of the will of God
the contrary, cannot comply with them
their practice.

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The close of this Chapter is designed to the removal of an Objection, pretended to be weighty and difficult; but indeed made so meerly by the Novel Opinions advanced by this Author. For laying aside all respect unto some uncouth Principles broached in this Discourse, there is scarce a Christian Child of ten years old, but can resolve the difficulty pretended, and that according to the mind of God. For it is supposed, that the *Magistrate* may *establish a Worship that is Idolatrous and Superstitious*: and an enquiry is made thereon, what the *subject* shall do in that case? why? where lyes the difficulty? why, saith he, *in this case they must be either Rebels, or Idolaters. If they obey, they sin against God: if they disobey, they sin against their Soveraign.* According to the Principles hitherto received in Christian Religion, any one would Reply, and say, *no*: for it is certain, that men must obey God, and not contract the guilt of such horrible sins, as Idolatry and Superstition; but in so doing they are neither *Rebels* against their Ruler, nor do *sin against* him. It is true, they must quietly and patiently submit to what they may suffer from him: but they are in so doing guilty of no Rebellion nor sin against him. Did ever any

Christian

Christian yet so much as call it into question, whether the Primitive Christians were Rebels, and sinned against their Rulers, because they would not obey those Edicts, whereby they established Idolatrous Worship? or did any one ever think, that they had a difficult case of Conscience to resolve in that matter? They were indeed accused by the *Pagans* as Rebels against the Emperours; but no Christian ever yet thought their case to have been doubtful. But all this difficulty ariseth from the making of two Gods, where there ought to be but one. And this renders the case so perplexed, that, for my part, I cannot see directly, how it is determined by our Author. Sometimes he speaks, as though it were the duty of Subjects to comply with the establishment of *Idolatry* supposed, as *pag.* 214, 215. for with respect, as I suppose it is, to the case as by him stated, that he sayes, *men must not withdraw their obedience*: and better *submit unto the unreasonable impositions of* Nero *or* Caligula, *than to hazard the dissolution of the State.* Sometimes he seems not to oblige them in Conscience to practise according to the publick prescription; but only pleads, that the *Magistrate* may punish them, if they do not; and fain would have it thought, that

that he may do ſo juſtly. But theſe things are certain unto us in this matter, and are ſo many κυριαι δοξαι in Chriſtian Religion; that if the ſupream *Magiſtrate* command any thing in the Worſhip of God that is Idolatrous, we are not to practiſe it accordingly; becauſe we muſt obey God rather than men. Nextly, that in our refuſal of complyance with the *Magiſtrates* commands, we do neither rebel nor ſin againſt him. For God hath not, doth not at any time, ſhut us up in any condition unto a neceſſity of ſinning. Thirdly, that in caſe the *Magiſtrate* ſhall think meet, through his own miſtakes and miſapprehenſions, to puniſh, deſtroy and burn them alive, who ſhall not comply with his Edicts, as did *Nebuchadnezzar*; or as they did in *England* in times of Popery; after all honeſt and Lawful private wayes of ſelf-preſervation uſed, which we are obliged unto; we are quietly and patiently to ſubmit to the Will of God in our ſufferings, without oppoſing or reſiſting by force, or ſtirring up ſeditions or tumults, to the diſturbance of publick peace. But our Author hath elſewhere provided a full Solution of this difficulty, *Chap.* 8. *p.* 308. Where he tells us, *that in caſes and diſputes of a publick concern, Private men are not pro-*

perly ſui juris; *they have no power over their actions; they are not to be directed by their own judgements, or determined by their own wills; but by the commands and determinations of the publick Conſcience. And if there be any ſin in the command, he that impoſed it ſhall anſwer for it, and not I whoſe Duty it is to obey. The commands of Authority will warrant my Obedience, my Obedience will hallow or at leaſt excuſe my action; and ſo ſecure me from ſin if not from errour, becauſe I follow the beſt guide and moſt probable direction I am capable of; and though I may miſtake, my integrity ſhall preſerve my innocence; and in all doubtfull and diſputable caſes it is better to err with Authority, than to be in the right againſt it.* When he ſhall produce any *ſound Divine Writer*, Any of the Ancient Fathers, any ſober Schoolmen, or Caſuiſts, any Learned modern Divines, ſpeaking at this rate, or giving countenance unto this direction given to men, for the regulating of their moral actions, it ſhall be farther attended unto. I know ſome ſuch thing is muttered amongſt the pleaders for *blind Obedience* upon *Vowes* voluntarily engaged into, for that purpoſe. But as it is acknowledged by themſelves, that by thoſe *Vowes*, they deprive themſelves of that Right and Liberty which naturally belongs unto them,

as unto all other men, wherein they place much of the merit of them; ſo by others thoſe Vowes themſelves, with all the pretended bruitiſh Obedience that proceeds from them, are ſufficiently evidenced to be an horrible Abomination, and ſuch as make a ready way for the perpetration of all villanies in the world, to which purpoſe that kind of Obedience hath been principally made uſe of. But theſe things are extreamly fond; and not only, as applyed unto the Worſhip of God, repugnant to the Goſpel, but alſo in themſelves to the Law of our Creation, and that Moral dependance on God, which is inſeparable unto all individuals of mankind. We are told in the Goſpel, that every one *is to be fully perſwaded in his own mind*; *that whatever is not of faith is ſin*; *that we are not to be* (in ſuch things) *the Servants of men*; that other mens leading of us amiſs, whoever they are, will not excuſe us; *for if the blind lead the blind, both ſhall fall into the ditch*; and he that followeth, is as ſure to periſh as he that leadeth. The next Guids of the ſouls and Conſciences of men, are doubtleſs thoſe who ſpeak unto them in the name of God, or Preachers of the Goſpel. Yet are all the Diſciples of Chriſt, frequently warned to *take heed* that they be

not deceived by any, under that pretence, but *diligently examining* what is propoſed unto them, they diſcern in themſelves what is good and evil. Nor doth the great Apoſtle himſelf require us to be *followers of him*, any further than he was *a follower of Chriſt*. They will find ſmall relief, who at the laſt day ſhall charge their ſins on the commands of others, whatever hope to the contrary they are put into by our Author. Neither will it be any excuſe that we have done *according* to the Precepts of men, if we have done *contrary* to thoſe of God. *Ephraim*, of old, *was broken in judgement, becauſe he willingly walked after the commandment*, Hoſ. 5. 11. But would not his Obedience *hallow*, or at *leaſt excuſe* his action? And would not the Authority of the King warrant his Obedience? Or muſt *Ephraim* now anſwer for the ſin, and not he only that impoſed the command? But it ſeems that when *Jeroboam* ſinned, who at that time had this goodly Creature of the *publick Conſcience* in keeping, he made *Iſrael* ſin alſo, who obeyed him. It is moreover a brave attempt to aſſert that Private men with reſpect to any of their *Moral Actions*, are not properly *ſui juris*, have *no power over their actions*, are *not to be directed by their own judgements*,

judgements, or *determined by their own wills*. This is *Circes Rod*, one ſtroke whereof turned men into Hoggs. For to what purpoſe ſerve their Underſtandings, their Judgements, their Wills, if not to guide and determine them in their Actions? I think he would find hard work, that ſhould go about to perſwade men to put out their own eyes, or blind themſelves, that they might ſee all by one publick Eye. And I am ſure it is no leſs unreaſonable, to deſire them to reject their own Wills, Underſtandings, and Judgements, to be lead and determined by a *publick Conſcience*; conſidering eſpecially that that publick Conſcience it ſelf is a meer *Tragelaphus*, which never had Exiſtence in *Rerum natura*. Beſides, ſuppoſe men ſhould be willing to accept of this condition of renouncing their own Underſtandings and Judgements, from being their Guides as to their Moral actions; I fear it will be found that indeed they are not able ſo to do. Mens Underſtandings, and their Conſciences, are placed in them by him who made them, to rule in them and over their actions in his name, and with reſpect unto their dependance on him. And let men endeavour it whileſt they pleaſe, they ſhall never be able utterly to caſt of this Yoke of God,

and deſtroy this order of things, which
by him inlaid in the Principles of all Ra
onal Beings. *Men*, whileſt they are me
in things that have a *Moral* Good or Ev
in them or adhering to them, muſt b
guided and determined by their own Un
derſtandings whether they will or no. An
if by any means, they ſtifle the actings
them at preſent, they will not avoid th
Judgement, which according to them, ſha
paſs upon them at the laſt day. But the
things may elſewhere be farther purſue
In the mean time the *Reader* may take th
Caſe as it is determined by the *Learned* Pr
late before mentioned, in his *Dialogue* abou
Subjection and Obedience againſt the P
piſts, whoſe words are as follow. Par.
pag. 297. *Philand. If the Prince eſtabliſh an
Religion, whatever it be, you muſt by you
oath obey it.* Theoph. *We muſt not rebel
and take arms againſt the Prince; but with
Reverence and Humility ſerve God before th
Prince, and that is nothing againſt our Oath.*
Philand. *Then is not the Prince Supream.* The
oph. *Why ſo.* Philand. *Your ſelves are ſuperiour,
when you ſerve whom you liſt.* Theoph. *As though
to ſerve God according to his will, were to ſerve
whom we liſt, and not whom Princes and all
others ought to ſerve.* Philand. *But you will
be Judges, when God is well ſerved, and*

when

when not. Theoph. *If you can excuſe us before God when you miſlead us, we will ſerve him as you ſhall appoint us; otherwiſe if every man ſhall anſwer for himſelf, good reaſon he be Maſter of his own Conſcience, in that which toucheth him ſo near, and no man ſhall excuſe him for.* Philand. *This is to make every man Supream Judge of Religion.* Theoph. *The pooreſt wretch that is, may be Supream Governour of his own heart; Princes rule the publick and external actions of their Countreyes, but not the Conſciences of men.* This in his dayes was the Doctrine of the *Church of England*; and as was obſerved before, no Perſon who then lived in it, knew better what was ſo.

The ſole enquiry remaining is, whether the *Magiſtrate*, having eſtabliſhed ſuch a Religion, as is Idolatrous or Superſtitious, may juſtly and lawfully puniſh and deſtroy his Subjects, for their non-complyance therewithall? This is that, which, if I underſtand him, our Author would give countenance unto; contrary to the common ſenſe of all Chriſtians, yea of common ſenſe it ſelf. For whereas he interweaves his Diſcourſe with ſuppoſitions, that men may miſtake in Religion, and abuſe it; all ſuch Interpoſitions are purely *ſophiſtical*, ſeeing the Caſe propoſed to

Reſolution, which ought in the whole to be preciſely attended unto, is about the refuſal to obſerve and practiſe a *Religion Idolatrous or Superſtitious*. Of the like nature is that Argument, which alone he makes uſe of here and elſewhere, to juſtifie his Principles; namely, the *neceſſity of Government*; and how much better the worſt Government is, and the moſt depraved in its adminiſtration, than *Anarchy or Confuſion*. For as this by all mankind is unqueſtioned; ſo I do not think there is any one among them, who can tell how to uſe this conceſſion to our Authors purpoſe. Doth it follow, that becauſe Magiſtrates cannot juſtly nor Righteouſly preſcribe an Idolatrous Religion, and compel their Subjects to the Profeſſion and Obedience of it; and becauſe the Subjects cannot, nor ought to yield Obedience therein, becauſe of the antecedent and ſuperiour power of God over them; that therefore Anarchy or Confuſion muſt be preferred before ſuch an Adminiſtration of Government? Let the Magiſtrate command what he will in Religion, yet whileſt he attends unto the ends of all Civil Government, that Government muſt needs be every way better than none; and is by private Chriſtians to be born with, and

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ſubmitted unto, untill God in his Providence ſhall provide relief. The primitive Chriſtians lived ſome Ages in the condition deſcribed; refuſing to obſerve the Religion required by Law; and exerciſing themſelves in the Worſhip of God, which was ſtrictly forbidden. And yet neither Anarchy, nor Confuſion, nor any diſturbance of publick Tranquility did enſue thereon. So did the Proteſtants here in *England* in the dayes of Queen *Mary*, and ſometime before. The *Argument*, which he endeavours in theſe Diſcourſes to give an Anſwer unto, is only of this importance. If the ſupream Magiſtrate may command what Religion he pleaſeth, and enact the obſervation of it under deſtructive penalties; whereas the greateſt part of Magiſtrates in the World will and do preſcribe ſuch Religions and wayes of Divine Worſhip, as are Idolatrous or Superſtitious, which their Subjects are indiſpenſibly bound in Conſcience not to comply with-all; then is the Magiſtrate juſtified in the puniſhing of men for their ſerving of God as they ought; and they may ſuffer as *evil doers*, in what they *ſuffer as Chriſtians*. This, all the World over, will juſtifie them that are uppermoſt, and have power in their hands, (on no other ground, but becauſe

becauſe they are ſo, and have ſo,) in the Oppreſſions and deſtructions of them, the being under them in Civil reſpects, d diſſent from them in things Religious. No whether this be according to the mind God or no, is left unto the judgement all indifferent men. We have, I confeſ I know not how many expreſſions inte poſed in this Diſcourſe, as was obſerved about ſedition, troubling of publick peace men being turbulent againſt preſcribe Rules of Worſhip, whereof if he pretend that every peaceable diſſenter and diſſen from what is publickly eſtabliſhed in Re ligious Worſhip, are guilty, he is a pleaſan man in a diſputation; and, if he do any thing, he determines his caſe propoſed o the part of complyance with Idolatrou and Superſtitious Worſhip. If he do no ſo; the mention of them in this place i very importune and unſeaſonable. All men acknowledge, that ſuch miſcarriages and practices may be juſtly coerced and puniſhed. But what is this to a bare refuſal to comply in any Idolatrous Worſhip, and a peaceable Practice of what God doth re quire, as that which he will accept and own?

But our Author proceeds to find out many pretences, on the account whereof, Perſons whom he acknowledgeth to

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be innocent and guiltleſs, may be puniſhed. And though their *Apprehenſions in Religion be not*, as he ſaith, *ſo much their crime, as their infelicity, yet there is no remedy, but it muſt expoſe them to the publick Rods and Axes*, pag. 219. I have heard of ſome wiſe and Righteous Princes, who have affirmed, *that they had rather let twenty nocent perſons go free, than puniſh or deſtroy one that is innocent.* This ſeems to render them more like him, whoſe Vice-gerents they are; than to ſeek out colourable reaſons for the puniſhment of them, whom they know to be innocent; which courſe is here ſuggeſted unto them. Such advice might be welcome to him, whom men called πήλον αἵματι πεφυραμένον, *Clay mingled and leavened with blood*; others no doubt will abhor it, and deteſt it. But what ſpirit of meekneſs and mercy our Author is acted by, he diſcovereth in the cloſe of this Chapter, *pag.* 223. for, ſaith he, *it is eaſily imaginable how an honeſt and well-meaning man may, through meer ignorance, fall into ſuch errours, which, though God will pardon, yet governours muſt puniſh. His integrity may expiate the crime, but cannot prevent the miſchief of his errour. Nay ſo eaſie is it for men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their Conſciences, that there is no Nation in the World, in which,*

which, (were government rightly understood and duly managed,) mistakes and abuses of Religion would not supply the gallies with vastly greater numbers, than Villany. There is no doubt, but that if *Phaeton* get into the Chariot of the Sun, the world will be sufficiently fired. And if every *Absalom* who thinks he understands government and the due management of it, better than its present possessours, were enthroned, there would be havock enough made among mankind. But blessed be God, who in many places, hath disposed it into such hands, as under whom, those who desire to fear and serve him according to his Will, may yet enjoy a more tolerable condition than such Adversaries are pleased withall. That honest and well-meaning men, falling into errours about the Worship of God, through their own ignorance, wherein their *integrity may expiate their crime; must be punished, must not be pardoned*; looks, methinks, with an appearance of more severity, than it is the Will of God, that the World should be Governed by; seeing one end of his instituting and appointing Government among men, is, to represent himself in his Power, Goodness and Wisdom unto them. And he that shall conjoyn another assertion of

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our Author, namely, that it is *better and more eligible to tolerate debaucheries and immoralities in converſation, than liberty of conſcience for men to worſhip God according to thoſe apprehenſions which they have of his will*; with the cloſe of this Chapter, *that it is ſo eaſie for men to deſerve to be puniſhed for their conſciences, that there is no Nation in the world, in which, were Government rightly underſtood, and duly managed, miſtakes and abuſes of Religion would not ſupply the Gallies with vaſtly greater numbers, than Villany*; will eaſily judge with what Spirit, from what principles, and with what deſign, this whole Diſcourſe was compoſed.

But I find my ſelf, utterly beſides and beyond my intention, engaged in particular controverſies: and finding by the proſpect I have taken of what remains in the Treatiſe under conſideration; that it is of the ſame nature and importance, with what is paſt and a full continuation of thoſe opprobrious reproaches of them whom he oppoſeth; and open diſcoveries of earneſt deſires after their trouble and ruine, which we have now ſufficiently been inured unto; I ſhall chooſe rather here to break off this Diſcourſe, than further to purſue the ventilation of thoſe differences, wherein I ſhall not willingly, or of choice, at any time

time engage. Besides, what is in the whole Discourse of especial and particular controversie, may be better handled apart by it self: as probably ere long it will be; if this new Representation of old pretences, quickned by invectives, and improved beyond all bounds and measures formerly fixt or given unto them, be judged to deserve a particular consideration. In the mean time this Author is more concerned than I, to consider, whether those bold incursions, that he hath made upon the antient boundaries and rules of Religion, and the consciences of men; those contemptuous revilings of his Adversaries, which he hath almost fill'd the Pages of his Book withal; those discoveries he hath made of the want of a due sense of the weaknesses and infirmities of men, which himself wants not; and of fierce, implacable, sanguinary thoughts against them, who appeal to the Judgement Seat of God, that they do not in any thing dissent from him or others, but out of a Reverence of the Authority of God, and for fear of provoking his holy Majesty; his incompassionate insulting over men in distresses and sufferings, will add to the comfort of that account, which he must shortly make before his Lord and ours.

To

To close up this Discourse; The principal design of the Treatise thus far surveyed, is to perswade or seduce Soveraign Princes, or Supream Magistrates unto two evils, that are indeed inseparable, and equally pernicious to themselves and others. The one of these is, to invade or usurp the Throne of God; and the other, to behave themselves therein unlike him. And where the one leads the way, the other will assuredly follow. The Empire over Religion, the souls and consciences of men in the Worship of God, hath hitherto been esteemed to belong unto God alone, to be a peculiar Jewel in his glorious Diadem. Neither can it spring from any other fountain but absolute and infinite Supremacy, such as belongs to him, as he hath alone, who is the first cause and last end of all. All attempts to educe it from, or to resolve it into any other principle, are vain and will prove abortive. But here the Sons of men are enticed to say with him of old; *We will ascend into Heaven; we will exalt our Throne above the Stars of God; we will sit upon the Mount of the Congregation, in the sides of the North; we will ascend above the heights of the clouds; we will be like the Most High.* For wherein can this be effected? What Ladders have men

men to climb perſonally into Heaven? and who ſhall attend them in their attempt? It is an aſſuming of a dominion over the ſouls and conſciences of men in the Worſhip of God, wherein and whereby this may be pretended, and therein alone. And all this deſcription of the invaſion of the Throne of God, whence he, who did ſo, is compared to *Lucifer*, who ſought Supremacy in Heaven; is but the ſetting up of his power in and over the Church in its Worſhip, which was performed in the *Temple*, the *Mount of the Congregation*, and in *Sion*, on the *North of the City of Jeruſalem*, *Iſaiah* 14. This now Princes are perſwaded unto: and can ſcarce eſcape without reproaches, where they refuſe or omit the attempting of it. Suppoſe they be prevailed with, to run the hazzard and adventure of ſuch an undertaking; what is it that they are thereon perſwaded unto? How are they directed to behave themſelves, after they have aſſumed a likeneſs unto the Moſt High, and exalted themſelves to his Throne? Plainly that which is now expected from them, is nothing but wrath, fury, indignation, perſecution, deſtructions, baniſhments, ruine of the perſons, and families of men innocent, peaceable, fearing God, and uſeful in their ſeveral ſtations,

ons, to ſatisfie their own wills, or to ſerve the intereſts of other men. Is this to act like God, whoſe power and authority they have aſſumed, or like to his greateſt Adverſary? Doth God deal thus in this world, in his Rule over the ſouls of men? or is not this that, which is ſet out in the Fable of *Phaeton*, that he, who takes the Chariot of the Sun, will caſt the whole world into a combuſtion? So he, who of old is ſuppoſed to have affected the Throne of God, hath ever ſince acted that cruelty to his power, which manifeſts what was his deſign therein, and what would have been the end of his coveted Soveraignty. And whoever at any time ſhall take to himſelf that power, that is peculiar to God, will find himſelf left in the exerciſe of it, to act utterly unlike him, yea contrary unto him. Power, they ſay, is a liquor, that let it be put into what veſſel you will, it is ready to overflow: and as uſeful as it is, as nothing is more to mankind in this world, yet when it is not accompanied with a due proportion of Wiſdom and Goodneſs, it is troubleſome if not pernicious to them concerned in it. The power of God is infinite, and his Soveraignty abſolute: but the whole exer-

ciſe of thoſe glorious dreadful Properties of his nature, is regulated by Wiſdom and Goodneſs no leſs infinite than themſelves. And as he hath all power over the ſouls and conſciences of men; ſo he exerciſes it with that Goodneſs, Grace, Clemency, Patience and Forbearance, which I hope we are all ſenſible of. If there be any like him, equal unto him in theſe things, I will readily ſubmit the whole of my Religion and conſcience unto him, without the leaſt heſitation. And if God, in his Dominion and Rule over the ſouls and conſciences of men, do exerciſe all Patience, Benignity, Long-ſuffering and Mercy; *for it is his compaſſion that we are not conſumed*; doth he not declare, that none is meet to be entruſted with that Power and Rule, but they, who have thoſe things like himſelf: at leaſt, that in what they are or may be concerned in it, they expreſs, and endeavour to anſwer his example. Indeed Soveraign Princes and Supream Magiſtrates are Gods Vice-gerents, and are *called Gods* on the earth; to repreſent his Power and Authority unto men in Government, within the bounds prefixed by himſelf unto them, which are the moſt extenſive that the nature of things is capable of;

and

and in so doing, to conform themselves and their actings to him and his, as he is the great *Monarch*, the Proto-type of all Rule and the exercise of it, in Justice, Goodness, Clemency and Benignity; that so the whole of what they do may tend to the relief, comfort, refreshment and satisfaction of mankind, walking in wayes of peace and innocency, in answer unto the ends of their Rule, is their Duty, their Honour and their Safety. And to this end, doth God usually and ordinarily furnish them with a due proportion of Wisdom and understanding: for *they also are of God*; He gives them an understanding suited and commensurate to their work; that what they have to do, shall not ordinarily be too hard for them: nor shall they be tempted to mistakes and miscarriages from the work they are imployed about, which he hath made to be their own. But if any of them shall once begin to exceed their bounds, to invade his Throne, and to take to themselves the Rule of any Province, belonging peculiarly and solely to the Kingdom of Heaven; therein a conformity unto God in their actings is not to be expected. For be they never so amply furnished with all Abilities of mind

and ſoul for the work, and thoſe duties which are their own, which are proper unto them: yet they are not capable of any ſuch ſtores of Wiſdom and Goodneſs, as ſhould fit them for the work of God, that which peculiarly belongs to his Authority and Power. His Power is infinite; his Authority is abſolute; ſo are his Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Patience. Thus he rules Religion, the ſouls and conſciences of men. And when Princes partake in theſe things, *infinite Power*, *infinite Wiſdom*, and *infinite Goodneſs*, they may aſſume the ſame Rule and act like him. But to pretend an intereſt in the one, and not in the other, will ſet them in the greateſt Oppoſition to him. Thoſe therefore, who can prevail with Magiſtrates to take the power of God over Religion and the ſouls of men in their obſervance of it, need never fear that when they have ſo done, they will imitate him in his Patience, Clemency, Meekneſs, Forbearance and Benignity; for they are no way capable of theſe things in a due proportion to that Power which is not their own; however they may be eminently furniſhed for that which is ſo. Thus have we known Princes, (ſuch as *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Julian* of old) whilſt they

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kept themſelves to their proper Sphere, ordering and diſpoſing the affairs of this world, and all things belonging to publick Peace, Tranquility and Welfare, to have been renowned for their Righteouſneſs, Moderation and Clemency, and thereby made dear to mankind: who, when they have fallen into the exceſs of aſſuming Divine power over the conſciences of men and the Worſhip of God, have left behind them ſuch footſteps and remembrances of Rage, Cruelty and Blood in the World, as make them juſtly abhorred to all Generations. This alone is the ſeat and poſture, wherein the Powers of the Earth, are delighted with the ſighs and groans of innocent perſons, with the fears and dread of them, that are and would be at peace; with the puniſhment of their Obedient Subjects; and the binding of thoſe hands of induſtry, which would willingly employ themſelves for the publick good and welfare. Take this occaſion out of the way, and there is nothing that ſhould provoke Soveraign Magiſtrates, to any thing that is grievous, irkſome or troubleſome to men peaceable and innocent; nothing that ſhould hinder their Subjects from ſeeing the preſence of God with them in their

Rule, and his Image upon them in their Authority, causing them to delight in the thoughts of them, and to pray continually for their continuance and prosperity. It may be some may be pleased for a season with severities against Dissenters, such as concerning whom we discourse; who falsely suppose their interest to lye therein. It may be they may think meet, rather to have all *debaucheries of life and conversation tolerated*, than liberty for peaceable men to Worship God, according to their light and perswasion of his mind and will; as the multitude was pleased of old with the cry of, *Release Barrabas, and let Jesus be crucified*; Magistrates themselves will at length perceive, how little they are beholding to any, who importunately suggest unto them fierce and sanguinary connsels in these matters. It is a saying of *Maximilian* the *Emperour* celebrated in many Authors; *Nullum*, said he, *enormius peccatum dari potest, quam in conscientias imperium exercere velle. Qui enim conscientiis imperare volunt, ii arcem cæli invadunt, & plerumq; terræ possessionem perdunt.* Magistrates need not fear, but that the open wickedness and bloody crimes of men, will supply them with objects to be

be Examples and Testimonies of their Justice and severity. And methinks it should not be judged an unequal Petition by them, who Rule in the stead and fear of God, that those who are *innocent* in their lives, *useful* in their callings and occasions, *peaceable* in the Land, might not be exposed to trouble, only because they design and endeavour, according to their light, which they are invincibly perswaded to be from God himself, to take care, that they *perish not eternally*. However I know, I can mind them of Advice, which is ten thousand times more their interest to attend unto, than to any that is tendred in the Treatise we have had under consideration, and it is that given by a King, unto those that should partake of the like Royal Authority with himself; Psalm 2. 10, 11, 12. *Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings; be instructed, ye Judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoyce with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little; blessed are all they that put their trust in him.* And he who can inform me, how they can render themselves more like unto God, more acceptable unto him, and more the Concern and Delight

of mankind, than by relieving peaceable and innocent persons from their Fears, Cares, and Solicitousness about undeserved evils, or from the suffering of such things, which no mortal man can convince them, that they have merited to undergo or suffer; he shall have my thanks for his discovery.

And what is it, that we treat about? What is it, that a little Truce and Peace is desired unto, and pleaded for? What are the concerns of publick good therein? Let a little sedate consideration be exercised about these things, and the causelessness of all the Wrath we have been conversing withall, will quickly appear. That there is a sad degeneracy of Christianity in the world, amongst the Professors of Christian Religion, from the Rule, Spirit, Worship and Conversation of the first Christians, who in all things observed and expressed the Nature, Vertue, and Power of the Gospel, all must acknowledge, and many do complain. Whatever of this kind comes to pass, and by what means soever, it is the interest and design of them, who are present gainers by it in the world, to keep all things in the posture, that yields them their advantage.

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Hence upon every Appearance of an Alteration, or Apprehenſion that any will deſert the Wayes of Worſhip, wherein they have been engaged, they are caſt into a ſtorm of paſſion and outrage, like *Demetrius* and the reſt of the *Silver-ſmiths*, pretending diviſions, preſent ſettlement, ancient veneration, and the like; when their gain and advantage, whether known or unknown to themſelves, is that, which both influenceth them with ſuch a frame of Spirit, and animates them to actings ſuitable thereunto. Thus in the Ages paſt there was ſo great and univerſal an Apoſtacy, long before fore-told, overſpreading Chriſtianity, that by innumerable ſober perſons it was judged intolerable: and that, if men had any regard to the Goſpel of Chriſt, their own freedom in the world, or everlaſting bleſſedneſs, there was a neceſſity of a *Reformation*, and the reduction of the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion unto ſome nearer conformity to the Primitive times and pattern. Into this deſign ſundry Kings, Princes, and whole Nations engaged themſelves, namely what lay in them, and according to the ſentiments of Truth they had received, to reduce Religion unto its priſtine Glory. What

Wrath,

Wrath, Clamours, Fury, Indignation, Revenge, Malice, this occasioned in them whose Subsistence, Wealth, Advantages, Honour and Reputation, all lay in preserving things in their state of defection and Apostacy, is known to all the world. Hence therefore arose bloody persecutions in all, and fierce Wars in many Nations, where this thing was attempted; stirred up by the craft and cruelty of them, who had mastered and managed the former declensions of Religion to their own use and advantage. The guilt of which mischiefs and miseries unto mankind, is by a late Writer amongst our selves, contrary to all the monuments of times past, and confessions of the Adversaries themselves, endeavoured to be cast on the Reformers. However a work of Reformation was carried on in the world, and succeeded in many places: in none more eminently, than in this Nation wherein we live. That the end aimed at, which was professedly the Reduction of Religion to its antient Beauty and Glory in Truth and Worship, is attained amongst us, some perhaps do judge, and absolutely acquiesce therein: and for my part I wish we had more did so. For,

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be it ſpoken, as I hope, without offence on the part of others, ſo without fear of giving it, or having it taken, on my own; there are among many, ſuch evident Declenſions from the firſt eſtabliſhed Reformation, towards the old or a new, and it may be worſe Apoſtacy; ſuch an apparent wearineſs of the principal Doctrines and practices, which enlivened the Reformation; as I cannot but be troubled at, and wherewith many are offended. For although I do own a diſſent from ſome preſent eſtabliſhments in the *Church of England*, yet I have that honour for the firſt Reformers of it, and Reformation it ſelf; that love to the Truth declared and eſtabliſhed in it; that reſpect to the Work and Grace of God, in the converſion of the ſouls of thouſands by the Miniſtry of the word in theſe Nations; that I cannot but grieve continually to ſee the acknowledged Doctrines of it deſerted, its ancient principles and practices derided, its priſtine zeal deſpiſed by ſome, who make advantage of its outward conſtitution; inheriting the profits, emoluments and wealth, which the bounty of our Kings have endowed it withal; but not its Spirit, its Love, its ſtedfaſtneſs in owning

owning the Proteſtant Truth and Cauſe. But to return; for theſe things may better elſewhere be complained of, ſeeing they relate only to particular perſons. That what is done in Reformation be eſtabliſhed; that any farther publick work of the ſame nature be attempted; or the retrivement of what is done to its original condition and eſtate, belongs to the determination of the Supream Magiſtrate, and to that alone. Private perſons have no Call, no Warrant to attempt any thing unto thoſe purpoſes. However many there are, who diſlike ſome *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions* and *Modes* of outward Worſhip, which have been the matter of great conteſts from the firſt Reformation: but much more diſlike the degeneracy from the Spirit, way and principles of the firſt Reformers before mentioned, which in ſome at preſent, they apprehend. And therefore though many ſeem to be at a great diſtance from the preſent eſtabliſhed Forms of the *Church of England*; yet certainly all who are humble and peaceable, when they ſhall ſee the Miniſtry of the Church, as in former dayes in ſome meaſure, acted rightly and zealouſly towards the known ends of it,

and

and ſuch as are undeniably by all acknowledged, namely, the Conviction of the World, the Converſion of Souls, and Edification of them that do believe; and the diſcipline of it exerciſed, in a conformity at leaſt to the Rule of the Diſcipline of the ſecular powers of the earth, *not to be a terrour to the good, but to them that do evil*; and in theſe things a demonſtration of the Meekneſs, Humility, Patience, forbearance, condeſcenſion to the weakneſs, miſtakes, errings and wandrings of others, which the Goſpel doth as plainly and evidently require of us, as it doth, that we ſhould believe in Jeſus Chriſt; will continually pray for its proſperity, though they cannot themſelves joyn with it in ſundry of its practices and wayes. In the mean time, I ſay, ſuch perſons as theſe, in themſelves and for their own concerns, do think it their duty, not abſolutely to take up in what hath been attained amongſt us; much leſs in what many are degenerated into; but to endeavour the Reduction of their practice in the Worſhip of God, to what was firſt appointed by Jeſus Chriſt; as being perſwaded, that he requires it of them; and being convinced,

vinced, that in the unſpeakable variety that is in humane conſtitutions, Reſt unto their Souls and Conſciences is not otherwiſe to be obtained. And if at the ſame time they endeavour not to reduce the Manner and Courſe of their Converſation to the ſame Rule and Example, by which they would have their Worſhip of God regulated; they are *hypocrites*. Short enough, no doubt, they come in both of perfection; but both they profeſs to aim equally at. And herein alone can their Conſciences find reſt and peace. In the doctrine of faith, conſented on in the firſt Reformation, and declared in the allowed Writings of the Church of *England*, they agree with others; and wiſh with all their hearts they had more to agree withall. Only they cannot come up to the practice of ſome things in the Worſhip of God; which being confeſſedly of humane preſcription, their Obedience in them would lye in a perfect contradiction to their principal deſign before mentioned. For thoſe things, being choſen out from a great multitude of things of the ſame nature, invented by thoſe, whoſe Authority was rejected in the firſt Reformation, or Reduction of

Religion

Religion from its Catholick Apoſtacy; they ſuppoſe, cannot juſtly be impoſed on them; they are ſure, cannot be honeſtly received by them, whileſt they deſign to reduce themſelves unto the primitive Rules and Examples of Obedience. In this deſign they profeſs themſelves ready to be ruled by, and to yield ſubjection unto any Truth or Direction, that can or may be given them from the Word of God, or any Principles lawfully from thence educed. How their conviction is at preſent attempted, let the Book under conſideration, and ſome late unparallel'd and illegal Acts of Violence, conformable to the ſpirit of it, be a Teſtimony. But in the management of their deſign, they proceed on no other Principles, than thoſe of the Liberty of judgement (of diſcretion or diſcerning they call it,) for the determining of themſelves and their own practices, in what they believe and profeſs about Religion, and the liberty of their Conſciences from all humane impoſitions, than were owned, pleaded and contended for by the firſt Reformers, and the moſt learned defenders of the *Church of England*, in their diſputations againſt the Papiſts; thoſe they

they will ſtand to, and abide by: yea than what are warranted by the Principles of our nature and conſtitution; for no man practiſeth any thing, nor can practiſe it, but according to his own will and choice.

Now in theſe things, in their Principle, or in their management of it, it may be they are miſtaken; it may be they are in an errour; or under many miſtakes and errours. But from their integrity they know themſelves *innocent*, even in their miſtakes. And it is in the nature of men to think ſtrange of ſedate violences, that befall them without their demerit, and of ſuffering by Law without any Guilt. Their deſign of reducing themſelves in Worſhip and Converſation to the primitive pattern, they openly avow: nor dare any directly condemn that deſign; nor can they be convinced of inſincerity in what they profeſs. And ſhall they they be deſtroyed, if they miſs it in ſome matters of ſmaller concernment? which, whatever ſome may boaſt of, is not hitherto tolerably proved. Shall now their diſſent in Religious Obſervances on this occaſion, and thoſe, and that about things moſtly and chiefly, if not only, that

that appear neither name nor thing in the Scripture, be judged a crime not to be expiated, but by their ruine? Are immoralities or vicious debaucheries rather to be tolerated, or exempted from punishment, than such a dissent? What place of Scripture in the Old or New Testament, which of the ancient Fathers of the Church, do speak at this rate? Opinions inconsistent with publick Tranquility, with the general Rules of *M*oral Duties in all Relations and Conditians; practices of any tendency in themselves to political disturbances, are by none pleaded for. Meer dissent it self, with different Observances in the Outward Worship of God, is by some pretended indeed to be a Civil disturbance. It hath alwayes been so by some, even by those, whose own established wayes have been Superstitious and Idolatrous. But wise men begin to smile, when they hear private interest pleaded as publick good, and the affections which it begets, as the common Reason of things. And these pretences have been by all parties, at one time or another, refuted and discarded.

Let the merit of the cauſe be ſtated and conſidered, which is truly as above propoſed, and no other : ſet aſide Prejudices, Animoſities, Advantages from things paſt and by-gone in political diſorders and tumults, wherein it hath no concern ; and it will quickly appear how little it is, how much, if poſſible, leſs than nothing, that is or can be pleaded for the countenancing of external ſeverity in this caſe. Doth it ſuite the Spirit of the Goſpel, or his commands, to deſtroy *good Wheat*, for ſtanding, as is ſuppoſed, a *little out of order*, who would not have men pluck up *the tares*, but to let them ſtand quietly in the field untill Harveſt ? Doth it anſwer his mind to deſtroy *his Diſciples*, who profeſs to love and obey him, from the Earth ; who blamed *his Diſciples of old* for deſiring to deſtroy *the Samaritans, his Enemies*, with fire from Heaven ? We are told, that he, who *was born after the fleſh, perſecuted him, who was born after the promiſe* : and a work becoming him it was. And if men are ſincere Diſciples of Chriſt, though they may fall into ſome

ſome miſtakes and errours, the outward perſecuting of them on that account, will be found to be of the works of the fleſh. It is certain, that for thoſe in particular, who take upon them, in any place or degree, to be *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, there are commands for meekneſs, patience and forbearance, given unto them. And it is one of the greateſt duties incumbent on them, to expreſs the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the frame of his mind and Spirit unto men; and that eminently in his *meekneſs* and *lowlineſs*, which he calls us all in an eſpecial manner to learn of him. A peculiar conformity alſo to the Goſpel, to the holy Law of Love, ſelf-denyal and condeſcention, is required of them; that they may not in their ſpirits, wayes and actings, make a *falſe repreſentation* of him, and that which they profeſs.

I know not therefore whence it is come to paſs, that this ſort of men do principally, if not only ſtir up Magiſtrates and Rulers to Laws, Severities, Penalties, Coercions, Impriſonments, and the like outward means of fierce and carnal power, againſt thoſe, who in any thing

diſſent from them in Religion. Generally abroad throughout *Chriſtendome*, thoſe, in whoſe hands the Civil Powers are, and who may be ſuppoſed to have inclinations unto the ſevere exerciſe of that power which is their own, ſuch as they think poſſibly may become them as men and Governours, would be inclineable to moderation towards diſſenters, were they not excited, provoked and wearied by them, who pretend to repreſent Jeſus Chriſt to the world; as if any earthly Potentate had more patience, mercy and compaſſion, than he. Look on thoſe *Lutheran* Countreyes where they perſecute the *Calviniſts*; it is commonly declared and proved, that the Magiſtrates, for the moſt part, would willingly bear with thoſe diſſenters, were they not ſtirred up continually to severities by them, whoſe duty it were to perſwade them to clemency and moderation, if in themſelves they were otherwiſe enclined. And this hath ruined the intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*, in a great meaſure. Do men, who deſtroy no more than they can, nor puniſh more than they are able, and cry out for Aſſiſtence where their

their own arm fails them, render themſelves hereby like to their heavenly Father? Is this Spirit from above? Doth that, which is ſo, teach men to harraſe the conſciences of perſons, their brethren and fellow-ſervants, on every little difference in judgement and practice about religious things? Whom will ſuch men fulfill the commands of patience, forbearance, waiting, meekneſs, condeſcenſion, that the Goſpel abounds with, towards? Is it only towards them, who are of the ſame mind with themſelves? They ſtand in no need of them: they ſtand upon the ſame terms of advantage with themſelves. And for thoſe that diſſent, *ariſe, kill, and eat*, ſeems to be the only command to be obſerved towards them. And why all this fierceneſs and ſeverity? Let men talk what they pleaſe, thoſe aimed at, are peaceable in the Land; and reſolve to be ſo, whatever may befall them. They deſpiſe all contrary inſinuations. That they are, in their ſtations ſeverally, uſefull to the Commonwealth, and collectively in their induſtry and trading, of great conſideration to publick welfare, is now appa-

rent unto all indifferent men. It is or muſt be, if it be for any thing, (as ſurely no men delight in troubling others for trouble ſake;) for their Errors and Miſtakes, in and about the Worſhip of God. All other Pleass are meer pretences of paſſion and intereſt. But who judgeth them to be ſo guilty of *errors?* Why thoſe, that ſtir up others to their hurt and diſquietment. But is their Judgement infallible? How if they ſhould be miſtaken themſelves in their judgement? If they are, they do not only err, but perſecute others for the Truth. And this hath been the general iſſue of this matter in the world. Error hath perſecuted Truth ten times, for Truths once perſecuting of Error. But ſuppoſe the worſt; ſuppoſe them in errors and under miſtakes; let it be proved, that God hath appointed, that all men who ſo err, ſhould be ſo puniſhed, as they would have *Non-conformiſts*, and though I ſhould believe them in the truth, I would never more plead their cauſe. And would theſe men be willingly thus dealt withall, by thoſe who judge, or may judge them to err? It may

may be ſome would; becauſe they have a good ſecurity, that none ſhall ever judge them ſo to do, who hath power to puniſh them: for they will be of his mind. But ſure none can be ſo abſolutely confined unto themſelves, nor ſo univerſally in all their affections and deſires unto their own perſonal concerns, as not to have a compaſſion for ſome or other, who in one place or other are judged to err by them, who have power over them to affix what guilt they pleaſe unto that, which is not their crime. And will they juſtifie all their oppreſſors? All men have an equal right in this matter, nothing is required, but being uppermoſt, to make a difference. This is that, which hath turned *Chriſtendome* into a Shambles; whileſt every prevailing Party, hath judged it their duty and intereſt, to deſtroy them that do diſſent from them.

Once more; what name of ſin or wickedneſs will they find to affix to theſe errors? *Nullum criminis nomen, niſi nominis crimen.* No man errs willingly, nor ought to be thought to tempt or ſeduce his own will, when his er-

ror is to his diſadvantage. And he is innocent whoſe will is not guilty. Moreover, thoſe pretended errors in our caſe, are not in matters of faith; nor for the moſt part, in or about the Worſhip of God, or that which is acknowledged ſo to be: but in or about thoſe things, which ſome think it convenient to add unto it, or conjoyn with it. And what quietneſs, what peace is there like to be in the world, whilſt the ſword of vengeance muſt be continually drawn about theſe things? Counſels of peace, patience, and forbearance, would certainly better become Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and Preachers of everlaſting peace than ſuch paſſionate and furious enterprizes for ſeverity, as we meet withal.

And I no way doubt, but that all generous noble and heroick ſpirits, ſuch as are not concerned in the impaled peculiar intereſt and advantages of ſome, and do ſcorn the pedantick humours of mean and emulous ſouls; when once a few more clouds of prejudices are ſcattered, will be willing to give up to God the Glory of his Sove-

raignty

raignty over the conſciences of men ; and deſpiſe the thoughts of giving them diſquietments for ſuch things , as they can no way remedy ; and which hinder them not from being ſervants of God, good Subjects to the King , and uſefull in their reſpective lots and conditions.

And now inſtead of thoſe words of *Pilate*, *What I have written*, *I have written*, which though uttered by him maliciouſly and deſpightfully , as was alſo the Prophecy of *Caiaphas*, were by the Holy Wiſe Providence of God, turned into a Teſtimony to the Truth ; I ſhall ſhut up this Diſcourſe , with thoſe of our Saviour, which are unſpeakably more our concernment to conſider, Matth. 24. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51. *Who then is a faithfull and wiſe Servant , whom his Lord hath made Ruler over his houſhold, to give them meat in due ſeaſon ; bleſſed is that ſervant , whom his Lord when he cometh ſhall find ſo doing. Verily I ſay unto you, he ſhall make him Ruler over all his goods. But and if that evil ſervant ſhall ſay in his heart , my Lord deferreth his coming ; And ſhall begin to ſmite his fellow ſervants,*

ſervants, and to eat and drink with the drunken; The Lord of that ſervant ſhall come in a day that he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of; and ſhall cut him aſſunder, and appoint him his portion with the Hypocrites; there ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

FINIS.